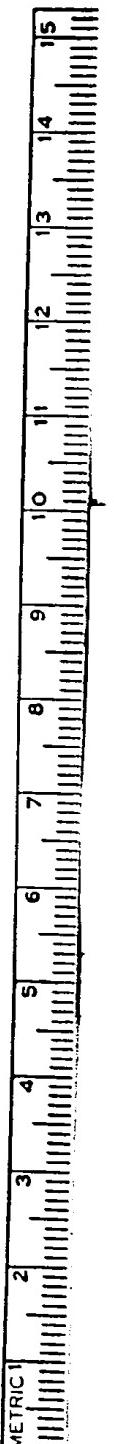


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The New
H I S T O R Y
O F
Count ZOSIMUS,
SOME TIME
Advocate of the Treasury
of the Roman Empire.

With the Notes of the *Oxford* Edition.

In Six Books.

To which is prefixed
Leunclavius's APOLOGY
for the Author.

Newly Englished.

L O N D O N ,

Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, Bookseller to his Royal Highness, at the Black Bull in Cornhill, 1684.

G. J. Nossius concerning the
Author.

THE Language of Zosimus is concise, expressive, pure and sweet; according to the judgment of Photius (Patriarch of Constantinople) in his *Bibliotheca*; but being a Heathen, he often reproaches the Christian Princes; and is upon that score reprehended by the same Photius, Evagrius, Nicephorus and others: Yet still Leucalvius is of Opinion, that Zosimus ought to be believ'd even in those Relations, there being no doubt but that the Christian Princes were guilty of many Extravagancies, which it became a faithful Historian not to pass by.

A 2 Leucalvius's

The Bookseller to the Reader.

THE Author's Work having been subject to multitude of Censures, 'Tis impossible this Translation should escape Reflections.

But Zosimus has been thought worthy of an Apology by Johannes Leunclavius a Noble German, who also took the pains to translate him into Latin; and the History has been printed several times in the last Age; particularly some Books by that Good Man Henricus Stephanus, and the whole by the learned Sylburgius. And of late years at Oxford, with the knowledg, if not direction, of a Reverend Prelate and Famous University; as also in Germany, with the Notes of divers Eminent Persons.

The French who make all Excellent Pieces of Antiquity their own, have lately made him speak their Language; and conjoyn'd him with the Histories of Xiphilin and Zonaras: and 'tis not unknown, in that Country the Press is kept by Jealous Masters.

As he now stands in the English Tongue, if there be any Poison contain'd in Him, it may be Hop'd, that peradventure, there will be found many Men, who understand neither Greek nor Latin, and yet have Sense enough to avoid Poison.

J. H.

THE Reader is humbly desired to excuse an Erratum, Page 346. where the Notes are put into the History it self. It begins *Hence does*, and ends *Dealt withal*.

Leunclavius A P O L O G Y F O R Z O S I M U S, Against the unjust Reflections of Evagrius, Nicephorus, Cedrenus, and others.

ALTHOUGH I were either to Dispute against Men even of a different Religion, or were not to undertake the defence of a Man, who, for having professed the old exploded Pagan Superstition, would certainly at first sight lose any manner of favour that he could expect in his cause among Men of our times; yet encouraged and supported with evident Arguments

[a] from

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from Truth it self, and the weakness of those which are brought against him by his Adversaries, I will not fear but that what I have to say will with impartial Men obtain. But I foresee his Defence is like to prove no easie Province, being to reply to those Men who under the pretence of defending the Christian Religion and those Princes who were the most celebrated Patrons of it, charge one of the most elegant and useful Historians with lying and calumniating; and who because he was no Christian must not be admitted to be a proper or a faithful reporter of those things which were transacted in the Commonwealth. For mankind is generally so unhappily built, as easily to believe those Men whom they find of the same Opinions with themselves, even in things indifferent, but especially in matters of Religion, crying down in the mean while Men of different Sentiments, although the things they deliver do not appear repugnant to truth. But seeing there is that force in Virtue in general, but especially in truth, that we cannot but approve it even in an Enemy; we hope you will hear what we have undertaken to say in a few words in defence of *Zosimus*, and that Men not too perverse and disingenuous will acknowledg that matters of fact may with candour

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candour and integrity be transmitted to future Ages by Men even of a different Religion from our selves.

Zosimus is assaulted with abundance of ill language, bespattered, cursed and given to the Devil for a most wicked Fellow, and principally for professing himself a Pagan; though I even in this commend the ingenuity of the Man, and yet at the same time lament his want of judgment, who being a person of extraordinary Wit, yet like the wise of the World, as the Scripture speaks, could not discern the light of the Divine Truth: but seeing that could be no hinderance why he should not faithfully relate and discreetly judg of those things which were well or ill done in the administration of the Government, let us proceed to those things in which the principal force of the Accusation consists.

They say he was unjust to the memory of *Constantine* for introducing a new Religion and its increase under him; and this we may grant them, considering it is impossible for any Man to wish well to him who against our wills would alter our Religion, when we think it most agreeable to truth, and which has been confirm'd by the Authority and consent of almost innumerable Ages. But what then? Was this hatred of *Zosimus* towards *Constantine* any

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motive for him calumniously to write how *Constantine* was the first Emperour that exacted that wicked and intolerable kind of Tax called *Xρωτρόγυρον* or *aurargentum*, (that which in the Civil Law-Books is term'd *aurum lustrale*, because it was collected every fourth year,) or was it for this reason that he hath related how *Constantine* seized upon the Estates and goods of other Men? a grievous charge indeed, and *Zosimus* is to be reproved for his slanderous way of Writing, if it appear that he hath reported these things of the Emperour untruly: but I am so far from believing that *Zosimus* wants good and indubitable Authors for what he says, that although there needed other Testimonies, yet that *Constantine* cannot be acquitted from this Charge, is evident from one substantial Argument; for either *Constantine* found this grievous imposition already laid upon his People by some of his Predecessours or else he cruelly imposed it himself. If we acknowledg *Constantine* to have been the Author, as *Zosimus* out of the Writers of those times demonstrates we ought to do, what reason is there to accuse him for relating matter of fact, as he had received it from others, as became a faithful Historian; his Adversaries are more to be blamed, who expatiating more in the praises of

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of *Constantine* than becomes them, forget the duty of Historians, and seem rather to write Panegyrics and Declamations than Histories.

But let it be so that *Zosimus* forged this against him whom he knew to have been the first among the Emperours that profess'd the Christian Religion, and was therefore resolved to be revenged of him for deserting that of his Ancestours by aspersing him with the imposition of a Tax unheard of, and so odious to the People.

Well then, *Constantine* did onely retain (which yet these Cavillers dare not insist on) a most hateful custom which he had received from his Predecessours; however our excellent Emperour is not altogether innocent, who would not abolish a Tax so sordid and abominable, (and introduced by Heathen Princes) after he had himself embraced the Christian Religion. For what mighty difference is there between the Author of an evil custom, and him, who when he hath Power does not abrogate a cruel and unjust one brought in by those that preceded him? But themselves deny not but this Tax was collected and with great cruelty too, under Christian Princes; and confess that *Anastasius* the first a considerable time after *Constantine* did by a certain wile get all the Books, wherein were the

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accounts of this Money, into his own hands, out of all the Provinces, and burn'd them, to the inestimable benefit and satisfaction of his poor Subjects. Let them not therefore complain of any injury done to *Constantine* till they prove by good and substantial evidence that *He* was not the Author of this imposition; and though they should acquit him from being the Author, yet they cannot but confess that he will still stand equally criminal for approving and retaining so horrid and villainous a thing. But let us hear I beseech you what weighty reasons they produce, to prove that *Constantine* could not be the Author of so base an Imposition.

Zosimus himself, say they, confesses that *Constantine* did with incredible expence build *Constantinople*, and considerably enlarged the space without the Walls of the old City; that he adorn'd it with a Palace no way inferiour to that of *Rome*, and several other Edifices beautiful and magnificent; that in imitation of the City of *Rome* he granted to the common People a certain allowance of Corn: that the Senators who at his request left *Rome* and went to *Constantinople*, he gratified with noble Houses and considerable sums of Gold. How then should the thought of such a Tax enter into the mind of such a Prince?

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Prince? and *Zosimus* was not aware how he contradicted himself in asserting things almost repugnant and inconsistent of the same Man. These are their Arguments, but who sees not that they are taken from us? *Zosimus* says, that *Constantine* was profuse and extravagant as soon as he had gotten the Empire to himself, and this he proves effectually; that he wasted the publick Revenue by unreasonable largesses, that he consumed vast sums in voluptuousness, impoverish'd the Exchequer by many costly and unnecessary Structures, and lastly mistook Profuseness for Munificence.

If these things shall appear to be true, as certainly they are, no wise Man will think it strange that he found out new ways of extorting Money, and when just and reasonable Methods would not suffice, that he made use of some cruel and unheard of before. He that was wont to throw away such vast sums for his humour, would not want it for his pleasures; for no men are so rapacious after other mens goods as they who most madly wast what they have themselves, upon their own luxury and excess, and to as much purpose do they brag of *Constantine*'s bounty to his Soldiers: and this too they tell you *Zosimus* confesses, and what wonder if ha-

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ving purchased the Empire this way, he made use of the same to keep it; for had he not, there had been no reason why the Army should not have preferr'd the lawful Issue of *Constantius* which he had by his Wife *Theodora*, rather than *Constantine*. The riotous and greedy humour of Soldiers will not endure frugal and tenacious Princes, but are ever most devoted to them who feed their lusts though to the exhausting of the publick Treasury. And impossible it is, that those exorbitant largesses which are wasted upon those Soldiers, (who having been once corrupted are ever after mutinous) to keep them in their obedience, should not be to the destruction of those poor Subjects from whom it is torn with the greatest cruelty in the World. Hence those new kinds of exactions were meerly to redress the effects of prodigality: and to rehearse these kinds of Oppression, whether instituted by *Constantine*, or the elder *Theodosius*, or *Valentinian* the first, is not impudently to bespatter or rail at godly and religious Princes, but to relate things as they were, which we observing may be able to make use of to our advantage. For if we rightly consider, it amounts to no more than admonishing Princes of the present and future Ages, that because they profess the Christian Religion

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sion, they should not flatter themselves with a belief of such a right to the goods and properties of their Subjects, as *Julian*, and other Pagan Emperours never pretended to, who for their abstinence, gentleness and moderation in Government have been a reproach to some who profess'd a better Religion.

And the same *Zosimus*, say they, in another place applauds this *Constantine* for some actions of his bravely and valiantly perform'd, and ought not he to have taken care how he diminish'd his glory, whom he before had celebrated so much? as if it were impossible to commend *Constantine*, *Theodosius* and other Christian Princes without approving all that they did; or as if for this very reason he did not appear the honestest Man, and without all controversie fitter to be an Historian, who though he observed some Vices in *Constantine*, very notorious, would not yet be so unjust to his memory, as to omit those things which were commendable in him.

Nor could *Zosimus*'s hatred to the Christian Religion transport him so far and hurry him into such undecencies as are too evident and scandalous in you, considering the Religion you profess. For those Princes who would be thought Christian, though

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though for the most part lewd and immoral Men, you can scarce forbear deifying, bellowing out their praises to the very Sky; and at the same time others, that were destitute of that light, though otherwise Men of incomparable worth and Virtues, you are not ashamed to rob even of that praise which their merits challenge as their due. I do not now speak of humane frailty, which will not admit a Man so to deport himself as to be liable to no exception; and therefore wise Men acknowledg that of *Theognis* to be true :

Vir bonus interdum malus est, alias bonus idem.

I will allow *Constantine* to have been indeed a great Man, he was the first among the Emperours that abolish'd those severe and bloody Laws against our Religion, he embraced the true Worship of God, he removed that Tyranny that had so long been exercised against the Church and the Commonwealth; and lastly in a great measure quieted those intestine Differences which were among those of the Christian Profession, by a Convocation of most holy Men. These are indeed worthy Actions of an excellent Prince, and such as all good Men will not only acknowledg but admire

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mire and applaud. But their way it was, who have written the History of the times about *Constantine*, not onely to report those things which were good and commendable, but even those too which can no way be justified, and that the Laws of History do necessarily require, and of considerable use it is in the life of Man ; however it may seem to sully and diminish his glory of whom it is related. And if *Zosimus* have done this with great freedom of speech, he is not certainly more to be reproved for it than some others, who professing not the Pagan, as he did, but the Christian Religion, have not stuck bitterly to lash *Constantine* as well for those things which *Zosimus* has likewise charged him with, as also that an Emperour pretending to be a Christian should promulgate a Law, inserted in *Justinian's Code*, forbidding those to be accused for the use of Magick Arts, who from those wicked Rites seek relief for sick bodies, and the conservation of those things which are necessary to life; that is, Men who forsake God the fountain of all good things, and expect those assistances from evil Angels which they despair of receiving from the Almighty : as if it were not expressly forbid in the Scripture, or that the use of that could be lawful, which is in

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in it self impious and damnable: and not without reason do the same Men discommend *Constantine* for changing his Counsels and resolutions in his old age, when by the persuasion of his Sister *Constantia* he recalled *Arius* the Author of that most pernicious Sect from banishment, and commanded *Athanafius*, who, for his extraordinary Piety and Religion, had so well deserved of his own and all succeeding ages, to be banish'd into *France*; and these are Crimes more inexcusable than what *Zosimus* hath charged him with, these respecting the honour of God, the peace of his Church and the salvation of his Peoples Souls; *Zosimus*, in the mean while complaining chiefly of those things in *Constantine* which tended to the prejudice of the Commonwealth.

And what is *Zosimus's* Crime, which *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* make such a stir about, in relating how *Constantine* murder'd his Son *Crispus Cesar*, a most hopeful Youth and of great Virtue, and his own Empress *Fausta*? is not this a singular piece of impudence which denies that to have been done, which the consent of those Writers who are of undoubted veracity, confirms the truth of? But *Eusebius*, say they, who was contemporary with *Constantine* and survived him too, mentions

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tions not one word of those Parricides. But what if this testimony be not good? For I must tell you, this kind of Historians, Prelates I mean, Priests and Monks have but a scurvy reputation for their fidelity this way; for those Princes who preferr'd them, they do not onely praise immoderately, but studiously endeavour not onely to free from the guilt, but from the very suspicion too of those Villanies, which, for all that, are too apparent to be either conceal'd or excused; and some again, and those no mean Persons, either not fairly pass'd over, or which is worse, unjustly stigmatized. But let us not make use of this advantage against so eminent an Author as *Eusebius*, and therefore allow that either he would not, or durst not write, his own circumstances and those of the times not admitting it; for either he wrote his History while *Constantine* was alive, or soon after his death: while he was yet alive he could not, without unavoidable hazard of his life, bring in the story of so horrid a Villany, and little less could he have expected from *Constantinus* who survived his Father and Brethren, if he had written it after he was dead. For whom I beseech you should he spare who spared not his own blood? shall we say therefore that those murders of *Constantine* were

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were feign'd, because *Eusebius*, for fear of the Father, and when he was dead, of the more cruel Son, durst not insert them into his History? But *Eusebius*, say they, commends *Crispus*, and therefore very unlikely it is, that he should have been murder'd by his Father; as if an enraged Father who was jealous of his Son's being naught with his Mother-in-law, could in the heighth of his passion so far command himself as to spare him because he was a hopeful and a forward Youth: or had not afterwards testified his resentment of the injury he had done so excellent and virtuous a Person, when touch'd with grief and remorse for the murder of such a Son, he strangled his own Wife *Fausta* who was the occasion of his suspicion, in a Bath. *Eusebius* therefore if he had a mind to be safe, could not better consult his own security than by wholly declining the mention of *Crispus*'s murther in his History; for one of these two he must necessarily have done, either have made *Crispus* die innocent, or not; guilty he would not, because the contrary was manifest to all Men, and innocent he durst not, for fear of accusing the Father: And hence we may truly infer that *Crispus* was unblameable, because among the rest who testifie his innocence, *Zosimus* relates how sadly he

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he was lamented by his Grandmother *Helen*; and therefore *Eusebius* for reasons best known to himself left that in doubt which *Zosimus* more remote from that Age ought by no means to have omitted. And truly I cannot but admire what was in the minds of these Men, who not content to have exposed themselves by their zeal against *Zosimus*, will not allow *Constantius* to have been cruel at all, because he did not execute *Vetranio* who had been guilty of Treason: as if one single instance were sufficient to entitle a Man to the Character of a gentle and merciful Prince, (who at other times inhumanly butchered his own Relations) for sparing a Man who by the course of Nature could not live long, of no Birth, not bravely taken or conquered, but circumvented by a meer wile. And the same *Constantius* does *Nazianzen* a Man otherwise prudent enough commend onely out of hatred to *Julian*, a Man in many extraordinary Virtues, not equal, but far superiour to *Constantius*; to whom though you allow his Apostacy to the Pagan follies to have been a reproach, yet I cannot see any reasonable cause why you should so far prefer that other Champion of the *Arian* madness.

And

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And now I must prepare to wipe off another Calumny, whereby *Zosimus* is accused partly for belying, partly for reproaching of *Constantine*, in reporting that being troubled in Conscience for having violated all the sacred ties of Religion, for his Murthers and other Villanies, and not being able to obtain such an absolution from the guilt of his sins in the Pagan Religion as would satisfie and quiet his mind, He did by the persuasion of a certain *Spaniard* called *Ægyptius*, come over to the Christian faith, as to a Religion that would give him peace of mind, provided he did with a firm belief and penitent heart apply himself to him whose Office it is to reconcile us to God.

This they who are for acquitting *Constantine* against the faith and stream of Historians will not allow to be true, because it was so long before he would admit of Baptism which is ordained for the washing away of sins; and for this they produce the Authority of *Theodoret*, who hath written how *Constantine* was baptized at *Nicomedia* a little before his death. But this no way invalidates the truth of what *Zosimus* relates; for it was possible for *Constantine* to profess the Christian Religion and not have been baptized; it being a custom which too much prevail'd about

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bout that time for many, although Christians by profession, to defer Baptism till they were near their ends, out of an Opinion which had then very much obtain'd and which yet even with us is not wholly rejected, viz. that after Baptism such a strictness of life was requisite as not to admit the least slip; and if after it we happen'd to fall, no absolution or forgiveness was ever to be expected again. Although indeed *Theodoret* hath particularly mentioned that *Constantine* would not be baptized, always desiring that in imitation of our Saviour he might at length have that sacred Rite perform'd in the streams of *Jordan*. This deferring his Baptism therefore hinders not at all but that *Constantine* was sufficiently satisfied that by his embracing the Christian Religion he was fully acquitted from the guilt of his Crimes. Nor does his being so very solicitous for a lasting and effectual peace of mind deserve any blame at all; but rather this passage in *Zosimus* redounds very much to the honour both of *Constantine* and our Religion too. For who can blame him for his penitence and being willing to be restored to the favour of Almighty God, and for the time to come amend a life so wicked and unrighteous as his had been? Who will deny the Christian Religion

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ligion to be the most excellent that ever was, which reconciles us to that God who in our Consciences we know is displeased with our iniquities, and gives us that repose and quiet of mind, in which the greatest felicity of our whole life consists; and which the old Philophers did so anxiously and to so little purpose study to acquire?

Any one therefore may see what trifling and unreasonable arguments *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* make use of to lessen as they pleate the truth of those things which *Zosimus* like a faithful and wise Historian has deliver'd of *Constantine*, mingling his Virtues with his Vices, as well those things which were commendable in him as what was scandalous and wicked, in which *Constantine* himself seems to have degenerated from his own natural disposition. Ought we not rather to remember that most wise saying of *Herodotus*, That there never yet was, nor is there ever likely to be any Man who through the whole course of his life had not some mixture of evil, and with extraordinary Virtues, Vices as extraordinary? And what if a Pagan talk unskilfully of our Religion? ought that to be any motive for us to treat *Zosimus* at that rate, or condemn him never to be read again?

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And to as much purpose do they say, that *Zosimus* lyes in affirming that from that time the Christian Religion was introduced, the *Roman Empire* was harassed by the barbarous part of the World, and in its extent diminish'd, and scarce any remains of its ancient grandeur, but resembled some mighty Fabrick with patch'd Roofs and supported with buttresses; and to refute this they produce a List of a great many Provinces added to the *Roman Empire* after our Saviour was born, and had publish'd his Religion to the World, as part of *Macedonia*, *Albania*, &c. Though this be no better than a Cavil and no just Reply. For *Zosimus* speaks not of the beginning and as it were the Infancy of our Religion, but observes it of those times wherein it was spread and had gotten some force, and by the light and power of its Doctrine had so dispell'd the mists of Paganism, and beaten out the Superstitions of the Heathens, that neither Prince nor People had any veneration or esteem for the Rites and Ceremonies of their Ancestours; but if we shall look closer into that which they say of the Provinces reduced under the *Roman jurisdiction*, 'twill be a question whether the ignorance or impudence of these Cavillers is most to be admired; for *Zosimus* will immediately

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reply, and truly too, that those Conquests are owing to the Valour and Conduct of the *Luculli*, *Pompeii*, *Julii*, *Vibii*, *Drusi*, *Trajanii* and the rest of those Pagan Heroes; and on the contrary will charge the loss of them to our account; nor indeed can we with any modesty or umbrage of Truth deny but that it was so. Wherefore we must find out other Arguments to confute *Zosimus*, and assign other causes why some Nations and Empires are reduced to confusion and ruin at some certain ominous and unlucky times, and by no means allow the institution of the Christian Religion to be the occasion, as some mistaken Men blinded with the prejudice of Education and the impressions they received from their Forefathers would insinuate, when the like contingencies are evident from ancient Histories, and we daily see the experience of it our selves.

But to return to these Men who are so much for lashing of *Zosimus*, who, labouring to prove against him, that the Commonwealth flourish'd more under Christian than Pagan Emperours, object the unfortunate expedition of *Julian* against the *Perians*: but because Men differ in their Opinions concerning this Prince, and the ancient Divines more especially are most injust in theirs. Before we proceed in the defence

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defence of *Zosimus*; let us see what manner of Man this *Julian* was, setting aside the business of Religion; and we shall find in him very many, not faint stroaks, but strong and express signs of extraordinary Virtues, which if his mistake in Religion had not obscured, you might have beheld in him, though but a young Man, the most admirable and perfect Idea of a good and excellent Prince, he had a vigorous Wit and capacious understanding, adorn'd from his Childhood, not, as Noblemen use to be, with a slight and superficial knowledg, but he attain'd such a perfection in all the liberal Sciences, that by confession of all sides he excelled even his Masters, Men too most eminent themselves; and that he has deservedly this reputation for Learning, needs no other proof, than those elegant and elaborate Pieces of his which are yet extant; and that he was no mean Civilian is evident from his Rescripts which are still to be seen in the Books of the Civil Law. Now as to what relates to his other Accomplishments; the warlike *Germans* by sad experience almost to their destruction are proofs of his singular Fortitude and Prudence in Military Affairs, who fearing even the extinction of their name became Petitioners to a young Man for Peace; a People who had given Laws

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to the mightiest Emperours both before and after *Julian*: and during these Wars it is incredible how great was his frugality and temperance both in eating and drinking, how little he slept, and what pains he took, contemning all the Charms and allurements of Pleasure; he lived like a Philosopher amidst the clashing of Swords and sound of Trumpets: and a very great instance of a modesty that seem'd a stranger to Ambition did he give, when *Constantius* married him to his Sister *Helena*, and made him *Cesar* when he thought of nothing less. For when by the Emperour's command the Purple Cloak was thrown over him, willing to shew how little he esteem'd that Princely Garment, he repeated this Verse of *Homer*,

*Purpurei vis leti & inexorabile fatum
Occupat.*

His gentleness and readiness to forgive Men, was very often remarkable, and then especially when the *Antiochians* had jested upon him more sharply and saucily than became Subjects to their Prince, he was content with the revenge of a most witty Oration, which though it were to their shame, could not be read without delight to others.

His

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His Chastity, a Virtue so rare in great Princes, he did ever so carefully prefer, as not onely during the life of his Wife never to violate, but even after her death, in the very flower of his age refused to marry again, yet ever abhor'd all unlawful love; nor contented to demonstrate by his practice how much he esteem'd this Virtue, he had always in his mouth these Verses of *Bacchilides* an ancient Poet,

*Ut quum de statuâ facies formosa revul-
(sa est
Non decus in reliquo corpore truncus
(habet;
Sic reliqui mores spreti fine honore jace-
(bunt,
Ni sint ornati laude pudicitiae.*

Who can be so brutish and disingenuous as not to admire and celebrate a Man so illustrious for endowments of mind and body as *Julian*, in whom so excellent a Wit, as appears from his Sayings, so much Learning, from his Writings, such Skill in the Civil Law, from his Rescripts, so much Valour, from his Actions, so much Modesty, from his Behaviour, such Chastity, from his Continence, were so remarkable and conspicuous? yet some there are such strangers to humanity, who under the

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pretence onely of his defection from the Christian faith, impudently deny him those praises which are due to his Virtues, and are not ashamed to proclaim him for an unfortunate Prince and pernicious to the Commonwealth, because, say they, he was unsuccessful against the *Perians*, and being slain in the Enemies Country had like to have ruined the Empire. Whereas indeed the *Perians* and the *Germans*, two Nations so fatal and terrible to the *Romans*, he reduced to such streights, that the *Germans* broken with such dismal overthrows, earnestly sought Peace, and when they had obtain'd it from him, they religiously observed it as long as he lived, out of fear of so fortunate a young Man; though at other times a People unquiet and impatient of rest and leisure: and the *Perians* terrified with a series of Victories, durst no more come fairly into the field, nor fight upon equal terms, but burning and destroying their own Country, were forc'd to confess that they wanted but a little of a total subversion; and whatever of terror or damage was brought upon the *Romans* was owing to *Jovian*, a Man of our own Religion, who to the eternal reproach of the *Roman* name became almost a petitioner for Peace to an Enemy even conquered himself, and appeased

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peased those by the surrender of I know not how many Provinces, whom he ought to have made buy a Peace at the price of some of their own Territories. What strange humour is this then, that Men should take delight to lay those miscarriages upon other Men which are in truth to be charged upon our selves?

And now let us see with what weighty Arguments these Censurers undertake to demonstrate how the Christian Princes have been much juster and braver Persons than those that were Pagans, and that the Commonwealth flourished more under them. The Pagan Princes say they, were most of them slain and plagued with Seditions; whereas ours were neither murther'd by their Domesticks nor by forein Enemies, and therefore the times wherein they reign'd are to be accounted happier than the others. I think we need not go very far to shew them how very forgetful or how infatuated they are with endeavouring to calumniate others. Are not they I beseech you to be accounted Domesticks that are related to us by blood? and after our Parents are not our Brethren next akin? and will not our Cousin-germans succeed in course? Let us see then what was acted between the Sons of *Constantine* who all profess'd the Christian Religion. *Constans* the

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the youngest of these, having surprized his eldest Brother *Constantine* by a wile, dreaming of no such matter, barbarously murther'd him by a company of base Assassines. *Magnentius* a Rebel slew this very *Constans*, polluted with the blood of his Brother. *Constantius* the onely surviver, savagely hunting after the blood of his own Kinred so long, till at length having destroyed the posterity of his Brother, his own Family became extinct. What sadder and more tragical Examples of Parcicides than these can you expect? but these our fine Historians never so much as thought of; these, which were indeed a stumbling-block to those who before having no great kindness for our Religion, were confirmed in their abhorrence by this bloody and inhumane Scene.

But what *Zosimus* relates of the Immoralities of the Emperour *Valens*, *Evagrius* takes not so ill, because he was a defender of the *Arian* Heresie; several of the Ancients, among whom *Paulus Varnefridus*, commonly called *Diaconus*, and *Jornandes* complain of him as the Author of that wicked Law (as they term it) by which he restrain'd those vast numbers of those, who under pretence of Religion affected Solitudes and took upon them a kind of Monkish life; and that Persons fit for the ma-

for ZOSIMUS.

nagement of Affairs and the support of the Commonwealth should be fetch'd out of those holes, and forc'd according to their several capacities either to enter into the Wars, or the discharge of civil Duties; and truly for this very reason I think *Valens* undeservedly reprehended; and some there are who think this Law brought into use for the raising provisions for the Army out of those allowances which went towards the maintenance of those Lubberdars, and that good Troops might be form'd out of them and paid without the charge of the Commonwealth, by turning those Revenues that way, which by the superstitions of their Predecessors had been bequeathed to the feeding the Bellies of a parcel of lazy Monks.

And here you see what it is *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* make such ado about against *Zosimus*. But their empty and trifling reasons for excusing Christian Princes, their vanity in accusing Pagans, their impudence in denying the truth, and their ignorance in asserting falsehoods, I hope I have sufficiently exposed.

There remains *Photius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who charges *Zosimus* for barking like any Dog against the Godly; but we have before shewn that there is no hurt in his barking, nor any venom in his bite; which that it may be evident

Leunclavius' *Apology*

in a few words : We see through the whole History of *Zosimus*, Constantine is reproved by him for the cruelty of his exactions, his Parricides,, his Luxury, his profuseness ; which Vices it seems, even the Christian Religion could but little restrain in him. He objects to his Sons their slaughter of one another, and the murther of their Kinred. He shews the sloth of *Jovian*, and the cowardise of his mind in quitting those Provinces which belonged to the Empire. He sets a mark upon *Valentinian* for his unreasonable suspicion, and thence his cruelty to such as he distrusted, his oppressing his People with immoderate and unreasonable Taxes. In *Gratian*, he shews how his too great affection towards the barbarous Nations, and his contempt of his own Subjects were the occasion of his death and an alteration in the Commonwealth. He blames *Theodosius* for changing and augmenting the number of Magistrates and selling of their places, and his being so excessively given to voluptuousness ; though excepting these, he as freely praises him. He terms his Son *Arcadius* no better than beast, for being governed onely by Eunuchs and idle Women to the extream detriment of the Commonwealth and the grief of all good Men ; and says that *Honorius* was even as slothful as his Brother,

These

for ZOSIMUS.

These are those godly Princes, I suppose, against whom *Photius* complains *Zosimus* has bark'd, in exposing their Vices to the World ; who nevertheless if he found any thing that deserved commendation he never dissembled it. Add the Pillars of our Religion, St. *Chrysostom*, who he says was wont with great Eloquence to soften and cajole the unlearned Rabble : and Pope *Innocent*, who opposed not the use of those impious Rites for the safety of the City, as if he had had that of *Virgil* in his mind,

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mo-
(vebo.)

And lastly the Monks, whom he takes notice of for abstaining from Marriage, filling Cities and Villages with Colledges of single People, of use neither to the Wars, nor to any civil Duty in the Commonwealth : but have ever since gone a certain way whereby they have secured a considerable part of the Earth to themselves, and under pretence of relieving the poor, have reduced a great part of mankind to beggary. And here you see the yelping *Photius* is so displeas'd at.

In

Lentulus's Apology

In those other things wherein *Zosimus* hath reflected upon the Christian Religion, you may observe a kind of admirable return or Circle of Times and humane things. He relates how *Gratian* died by a kind of Judgment for refusing to put on the Garment of the *Pontifex Maximus*, according to the custom of his Predecessors, declaring himself a Christian and no Worshipper of the host of Heaven: which Garment was wont to be presented to the Pagan Emperors with the same Ceremony as in succeeding ages the Christian used to put on the *Stola Diaconatus*. He reports how the Senate in defence of the Religion they had received from their Ancestours, laid before *Theodosius* the Antiquity of their Rites and Worship, having derived them from the very foundation of their City, and by the observing of which the People of *Rome* had preserv'd their Empire twelve hundred years; that it was unreasonable to prefer a Religion that had so little to say for it self to one so ancient and august! And adds, how *Theodosius* abolish'd those sacred Rites which by the Institution of his Ancestours ought to have been perpetual, how he forbade sacrificing at the Publick charge, and commanded provisions for the Army to be raised out of them for the safety of the *Roman Empire*; He complains

for ZOSIMUS.

plains of his removing the Images, and shortly after, the Statues of Gold and Silver and coining vast sums of Money out of them, which he was afterward forc'd to part with to *Aleic* to buy a Peace at his hands; that *Serena Theodosius's* Niece sacrilegiously rob'd the Mother of the Gods of her Jewels and wore them herself; and that her Husband *Stilico* took away those huge Plates of Gold which were fastened to the doors of the Temple belonging to the *Capitol*. But who is there that has not seen the like in our days and heard the like Complaints? From all which it is evident that that common Enemy of mankind, that he might obstruct the true Worship of God, has always been the same. But 'tis my Opinion, that Wise Men will be so far from refusing to read *Zosimus*, that the variety of these kinds of Relations will render him more acceptable and delightful.

This is what I had to offer in his Defence against the frightful Invectives of some Writers; and which I hope will obtain among those Men who are capable of making a right judgment of things. I could if I pleas'd or thought it worth my while inlarge in the just praise of *Zosimus's* History; But because, as they say, Good Wine needs no Bush, I will no longer detain

Leunclavius's Apology

tain the Reader from entertaining himself better with the most Elegant Writings of our Author; and I promise my self, that excepting those things which relate to Church-Affairs, the learned Reader will in all others prefer him far before either *Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen or Theodoret*; or if out of a religious kind of scruple they are affraid to prefer a Pagan to those Ecclesiastical Writers of the upper Form, yet we do not at all doubt but they will without dispute allow him to equal them in his way, and not so much as admit the rest of them as *Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c.* into competition with him.

A New

(1)

A New HISTORY Written by Count ZOSIMUS, Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The First Book.



HEN *Polybius* of *Megalopolis* design'd to write the *History* of all remarkable passages in his time, he thought it the best way to shew from matter of fact, that the *Romans*, who had Wars with their neighbouring Nations for six hundred years after the building of their City, gain'd, in that time, no very great *Dominions*. But when they had re-

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duced some small part of *Italy*, which, after *Hannibal* came over, at the Battel of *Cannæ*, they lost; and saw their Enemies lie before their Walls, they grew so great and fortunate, that, in less than fifty three years, they were masters not onely of all *Italy* and *Africa*, but subdu'd the *Spaniards* too. And being still desirous to propagate their *Empire*, they pass'd the *Ionian Bay*, conquer'd the *Grecians*, and ruin'd the *Macedonians*, whose *King*, that then was, they took alive and carry'd to *Rome*. Now the cause of all this no man will say was meerly humane; but either fatal Necessity, or the Influence of the Stars, or the Will of God, which favours all our Actions, as long as they are just and good. For these things lay such a train of seeming causes upon future contingencies, that thinking men suppose, the Administration of humane affairs is managed by divine Providence; so that when peoples Spirits are up and vigorous, they thrive and are in good plight, but, on the contrary, when these are dejected and want courage, those dwindle into the present circumstances.

But my busines is, to shew from the things themselves, that what I say is true; and therefore I must tell you, That after the *Trojan War* until the Battel of *Marathon*, the Greeks did nothing, that I know, worth

the

the speaking of either against each other, or any body else. But when *Darius*, by his *Prefects*, or great *Governours* of Towns and Provinces, came to oppose them with infinite numbers of men, eight thousand *Athenians*, inspir'd, as it were, from *Heaven*, and arm'd by meer chance, ran out to meet him, and got so much the better of it, that they kill'd ninety thousand and forced the rest to fly the Countrey. And this fight it was, that put the *Grecians* into a far better condition than formerly. But when *Darius* was dead, and *Xerxes* came with an Army so much greater, that he seemed to bring all *Asia* into *Greece* (for he fill'd the *Sea* with *Ships* and the *Land* with *Souldiers*) he found it necessary to cross over from *Asia* into *Europe*; and therefore, as if the two Elements of *Earth* and *Water* had not been capable of receiving his Army, unless they had robb'd each other of their natural use, he made a Bridg over the *Hellespont* for the Foot-Soldiers to march upon; nay, he cut a passage through the *Mountain Athos*, where *Ships* rode as in the *Sea*. Whilst in the mean time the *Grecians*, though they were terrified at the very report of such an Enemies approach, yet they prepared for him as well as they were able. And in one *Seafight* at *Artemisium* and another at *Salamis*, they

they obtain'd a Victory so far beyond the former, that *Xerxes* was glad to escape with his life, when he had lost most of his Army; whilst the remaining part of them, that were slain at *Platææ*, did, by their deaths, so much advance the glory of the *Grecians*, that in the strength of their reputation and renown, they not onely set the *Greeks*, that were in *Asia*, at *Liberty*, but possess'd themselves of almost all the *Islands*.

And indeed, if they had been unanimous among themselves, and content with their then present condition, nor the *Athenians* fallen out with the *Lacedemonians* about the *Government* and *Menage* of *Greece*, they would never have had any *forein Lords*. But when the *Peloponnesian War* had weaken'd the strength of the *Greeks*, and made their Cities poor, *Philip* had room and opportunity to enlarge that Kingdom, which his Father left him, by arts and stratagems, though he was not equal in strength to any of his neighbours. For he did so oblige his own *Souldiers*, and all others that wou'd fight under his Command, with Money, that he grew great enough to engage with the *Athenians* at *Cheronœa*, and, after that Victory, was so kind and courteous and won so much upon all men, that he thought himself well enough prepared

pared to go against the *King of Persia*. But before he cou'd raise a competent number of men, he died.

Then *Alexander* came to be *King*, who as soon as he had settled Affairs in *Greece*, went over into *Asia* with a considerable Army. Where having conquer'd the *Satrapes* (i. e. *Governours of Provinces*) who opposed him, he made his way toward *Darius* himself, who with an innumerable Host had taken all the places about *Iffus*. And there engaging with the *Persians* he gain'd an incredible Victory, routed *Darius*, and went himself through *Phænicia*, and *Syria* into *Palestine*. (What he did at *Tyre* and *Gaza*, you may read in those *Historians* that have written concerning *Alexander*.) From thence he marched into *Egypt*, and when he had paid his Devotion to *Jupiter Ammon*, and order'd the building of *Alexandria*, return'd to finish the *Persian War*. But on his way thither, finding all people had a kindness for him, he went into *Mesopotamia*; and though he heard that *Darius* had a greater Army than before, now in readiness, yet he proceeded with what forces he then had and engaged with him at *Arbela*; where he was so victorious that he kill'd almost all *Darius's* men, and ruin'd the *Persian Monarchy*, though the *King* himself escaped.

The History Book I.

After that, when *Besus* had kill'd *Darius*, and *Alexander*, having atchiev'd great things in *India*, was come again to *Babylon*, he died. Upon whose decease the *Macedonian Government* being divided into *Satrapies* or *petit Principalities*, and enfeebled by continual Wars among themselves, *Fortune* subdu'd the remaining part of *Europe* to the *Romans*. And then going over into *Asia*, fighting the *Kings* of *Pontus* and *Antiochus*, and making War afterward against the *Dynastes* or *Princes* of *Egypt*, they enlarged the *Empire* something every year, as long as their *Senate* stood, by reason that their *Consuls* were ambitious of out-doing one another. But when the *Civil Wars* betwixt *Sylla* and *Marius*, as, afterward, betwixt *Julius Cesar* and *Pompey the Great*, had ruined the *Commonwealth*, they laid aside the *Aristocracy* [or *Government* of the *Nobility*] and chose *Octavianus, Dictator*: committing the whole *Administration* of *Affairs* to him alone, without considering, that *they had thrown* (as it were) *the Dice* upon all peoples hopes and ventur'd the hazard of that vast *Empire* upon one Mans inclination and power. For whether he design'd to govern by *Justice* and *Equity*, he cou'd not please all men; as not being able to assist them that were at a great distance, in any con-

Book I. of Count ZOSIMUS.

convenient time, nor cou'd he find out so many *Officers*, that wou'd be ashamed not to answer the character or judgment given of 'em; or suit himself to so many different humours: or whether he wou'd break through the bounds of Imperial *Kingly Government*, and move toward *Tyranny*, by disturbing the present establishments, winking at great *Crimes*, selling of *Justice*, and looking upon *Subjects* as *Slaves* (as most *Emperours*, and indeed almost all, except some few, have done) it must of necessity follow, that his unbounded, brute power would prove a common *Calamity*. For fawning Rascals and *Parasites* are prefer'd by such a *Gouvernor* into places of greatest *Trust*, by the help of those *Estates* and *Honours* that he bestows upon them. Whilst modest, quiet men, that are averse to such a way of living, do very justly resent their own not enjoying the same benefits. And hence it is that *Towns* are fill'd with insurrections and tumults; for when all *Offices* both *Civil* and *Military* are confer'd upon covetous Magistrates, it makes both the *Citizens* uneasy in *Peace*, and discourages the *Souldiers* in *War*.

Now that this is so, experience has plainly shewn, together with those things that happen'd soon after in the Reign of *Octavianus*. For the *Dance* called *Pantomimus*

mus [which signifies, a *Dance in imitation of every body*] was introduced at that time, though it had never been used before, since *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* invended it ; besides a great many other things that occasion much mischief even to this day. But indeed *Oktavianus* seemed to govern very moderately, especially after he took *Athenodorus* the *Stoicks* counsel, and in respect of *Tiberius*, who succeeded him : for he was so severe a *Tyrant*, that his Subjects could not endure him, but expelled him into an *Island*, where he lay private for some time and then died. After him *Caius Caligula*, who far exceeded *Tiberius* in all sorts of wickedness, was slain by *Chæreas*, who by that bold action resolv'd to free the Commonwealth from his cruel *Tyranny*. Then *Claudius* came to be *Emperour*, who committed all his Affairs to the conduct of *Libertines* [the Sons of those who had been Slaves] that were *Eunuchs*, and made a shameful end ; so that *Nero* and his *Successors* were then advanced to the Imperial *Throne*. Of whom I resolve not to say one word, because the *World* shall not know, what monstrous and enormous actions they were guilty of. But *Vespasian*, and his Son *Titus* were much more moderate in their time ; as, on the other hand, *Domitian* surpass'd all others in cruelty,

elty; luxury and avarice : for which reason when he had been a plague to the *Commonwealth* for fifteen years together, he was kill'd by *Stephanus*, one of his *Freemen*, and seemed to suffer justly for his wicked actions.

From this time good men succeeded in the *Empire*, as *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and after him *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and that pair of Brothers called *Verus* and *Lucius*, who corrected many *Errours* in the *State*, and not onely recover'd what their Predecessors had lost, but made likewise some new additions. But after them, when *Commodus* the Son of *Marcus* had been *Emperour*, who was addicted not only to *Tyranny* but even prodigious Vices besides, till *Marcia* his *Concubine* took manly courage and kill'd him, the *Empire* was conferred upon *Pertinax*. But the *Court Guards* being not able to endure his strict way of exercise and Discipline, which made 'em mutine and kill him also, *Rome* had like to have been all in an uproar and confusion, whilst the *Pretorian Soldiers*, that were design'd to secure the Palace, endeavour'd to extort out of the *Senate* hands the power of making a *Sole-governour*. And now the *Empire* being set to Sale (as it were) one *Didius Julianus*, by the instigation of his Wife, and through more folly than Wifdom

dom, produced a sum of money wherewith he purchas'd the *Empire*; and made such a *Show* as the people ne'r saw in their lives before, or any other *legal Attendance*; besides the Soldiers, who set him up, and by violence gave him poifession of the Palace, with all the furniture that was in it. But he was call'd in question and taken off too, by those very men that raised him to his *Honor*, nor was his Life any more than a momentany, golden *Dream*.

When he was removed, the *Senate* sat in consultation, who they should choose *Emperour* in his room, and pitched upon *Severus*. But *Albinus* and *Niger* pretending a right of *Government* at the same time, there arose fierce *civil Wars* between 'em; so that the Cities were divided, some being for one side and some for the other. Whereupon there were great commotions in the *Eastern parts* and in *Egypt*; nor did the *Bizantians*, who were *Nigers* friends and entertain'd him, refuse any dangerous *Attempt*, till *Severus* got the Victory and *Niger* was kill'd. After whom *Albinus* also quitted the *Empire* and this *World* together, so that the sole Power was now devolv'd upon *Severus*. He therefore apply'd himself to rectifie those things that had been carried with such exorbitancy, inflicting in the first place severe punishments

ments upon the Souldiers that kill'd *Pertinax* and deliver'd up the *Empire* to *Julianus*. Which having done and settled the *Militia*, he went against the *Fersians*, and in the same expedition took *Ctesiphon* and *Babylon*, over-ran the *Arabians*, (called *Scenites*, from their living in *Tents*) conquer'd *Arabia* in general, and did many other great Exploits; besides that he was inexorable to Delinquents and made a publick distribution of their goods, who were guilty of any heinous *Offence*.

Having adorn'd a great many Cities with sumptuous Buildings, he declared his Son *Antoninus Emperour*, but, being near his death, left, not only him, but his other Son *Geta* also, coheirs in the *Government*, and made *Papinianus* (a very just person and one that was more skill'd in the knowledg and interpretation of the *Law* than any *Roman* either before or since) their *Guardian* or *Protector*. But *Antoninus* not long after suspected this worthy Person, who was *Prefect of the Court*, for no other reason, but because he did what he could to frustrate a Design that *Antoninus* had laid against his Brother *Geta*, and *Papinianus* had discover'd. He therefore resolved to remove this Obstacle, and with the Soldiers contrived *Papinianus's* destruction. After which when he had his hands at

at liberty he slew his Brother whom even his own Mother could not save, though he fled to her for protection.

But not long after, *Antoninus* paid for murthering his Brother, nor was the person that slew him ever known. And then the Souldiery at *Rome* chose *Macrinus*, who was *Prefect of the Court* (as *Papinius* had been) *Emperour*, whilst those in the *Eastern Countreys* set up *Emisenus*, who was a kin to *Antoninus*'s Mother. Now therefore both Armies were so tenacious of what they had done, that there arose a civil broil between 'em, and whilst *Emisenus* *Antoninus*'s men were bringing him to *Rome*, *Macrinus*'s Army march'd out of *Italy*. And when, at *Antioch* in *Syria*, the two Armies had engaged, *Macrinus* was so totally defeated, that he was forced to fly the Camp, but between *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* was taken and killed.

When *Antoninus* had gotten this Victory and punished all those that sided with *Macrinus*, as Enemies, he lived such a dissolute; scandalous life, conversing so much with *Magicians* and *Juglers* that the *Romans*, not able to endure his excessive Luxury, murther'd him, tore his body in pieces, and declared *Alexander*, *Emperour*, who came likewise of *Severus*'s Family. Who though he were but young, yet he was

was a person of a good Nature, and put all people in hopes that he would prove an easie *Governour*. For he made *Flavianus* and *Chrestus* *Prefects* of his *Court*, who were men not onely well vers'd in Military affairs, but excellent also in the management of civil Business. But *Mamaea* the *Emperours Mother* set *Ulpianus* as an *Inspector* or *Overseer* over them, and indeed as a *Partner* in their *Office*, (because he was an incomparable *Lawyer* and one that knew not onely how to regulate the present Affairs, but to provide with all prudence for the future) at which the Souldiers were so offended, that they privately contrived his ruin. Which when *Mamaea* understood, she prevented their Design by taking off the *Conspiratours*, and making *Ulpian* the sole *Prefect* belonging to the *Court*. But after that being suspected by the *Army* (for what cause I cannot well tell, since there are so many various reports concerning his inclinations.) he was murthered in a tumult, nor could the *Emperour* himself save his life.

From this time forward the Souldiers, who by degrees forgot their former kindness to *Alexander*, seemed very unwilling to execute his Commands, and lest they should be punish'd for their sloth, made publick mutinies, in which they promoted

ted one *Antoninus* to the *Empire*. But he not able to sustein the weight of that great Trust, withdrew himself; which made 'em chuse *Uranius*, a man of mean and slavish condition, who being presently brought before *Alexander* in his *purple Robes*, their hatred to the *Emperour* was thereby the more augmented. And hence it was that *Alexander* seeing himself environ'd with so many difficulties, was alter'd not onely in the temper of his body but in the complexion of his mind too; insomuch that he was seized with the Disease of *Avarice* and laid up money with great care and sollicitude, of which he made his *Mother* his *Treasurer*.

But whilst his Affairs stood in this unhappy posture, the *Armies* that were in *Pannonia* and *Mysia*, who had no great kindness for him before, were now more inclined to a *Revolt*, and therefore being set upon *Innovation*, they raised *Maximinus*, who was Captain of a *Pannonian Troop*, to the *Empire*. He therefore, having got all his forces together, march'd into *Italy* as fast as he could, because he thought it easier to attaque the *Emperour* at unawares. But *Alexander*, who was then in the parts about the *Rhine*, having intelligence there of their design'd *Innovations*, moved towards *Rome* with all speed. Where

Where though he offer'd pardon both to the *Souldiers* and *Maximinus* too, if they would desist from their *Attempts*, yet he could not reconcile 'em, and therefore, in a desperate humour expos'd himself, as it were, to Death. His *Mother Mamea* too, who came out of the Palace with the *Prefects* to appease the *Tumult*, was murthered together with the *Prefects*. By which means *Maximinus* was well settled in the *Empire*, but all people were sorry that they had changed a moderate *Emperour* for a cruel *Tyrant*. For he was of an obscure Family, and therefore when he came to be *Emperour*, eclipsed those Virtues that he was naturally endued with, by the excessive confidence of his own power: insomuch that he was intolerable to all men in general, and did not onely injure those that were in places of *Honour*, but used all cruelty in the conduct of his Affairs, obliging none but *Sycophants*, who inform'd against innocent, quiet men, as if they were *Debtors* to the *Imperial Treasury*. At length he proceeded to murther men through covetousness before he heard what they could say for themselves, made all the Towns his own, and plunder'd the Inhabitants.

Now the *Nations* subject to the *Romans* being not able to endure his extravagant cruelty, but mightily troubled at the open ravage which he committed, the *Africans* declared *Gordianus* and his *Son*, of the same name, *Emperours*; and sent *Embaſſadours* to *Rome*, among whom was *Valerianus* a *Consuls* fellow, who himself was afterward *Emperour*. At which the *Senate* was well pleas'd, and consulted how to remove the Tyrant; inciting the Soldiers to Rebellion, and putting the people in mind of the injuries done to them both in their private capacities and also as they were members of such a *Commonwealth*. Then being all agreed they chose twenty Men out of their whole *Senate*, who understood Military Discipline, and from among them elected two, called *Balbinus* and *Maximus*, to whom they committed the chief Command, and going toward *Rome* were ready to make an *Insurrection*.

But *Maximinus* when he heard of these things, went in all haste toward *Rome* with the *Moors* and *Frenchmen* that he had under him, and by the way besieged the Garrison of *Aquileia*, because they shut their Gates against him; though his own party who at last consulted the publick good, with much ado consented to those who had a mind to take him off, and thereby

thereby reduced him to such extremity of danger, that he was fain to make his own Son a *Petitioner* in his behalf, supposing that his tender years would rebate their anger and move them to pity. But they were thereby the more enraged, and after they had kill'd the Boy in a most barbarous manner, dispatch'd him also; upon which one of 'em came and cutting off his head brought it along with him to *Rome* for a demonstration and Trophy of their Victory. And thus being freed from all their fears, they waited for the Arrival of the two *Emperours* out of *Africk*.

But they being cast away in a storm, the *Senate* conferr'd the universal management of affairs upon *Gordianus*, who was Son to one of 'em. In whose Reign the *Romans* remitted something of their former melancholy, because the *Emperour* diverted 'em with Plays and other exercises. But when they were all awaked, as it were, out of a dead sleep, they laid a private Plot against the *Emperour*, by the advice of *Balbinus* and *Maximus*, who instigated certain Soldiers against him. Which being found out, the Heads of the party, besides a great many of the *Complices*, were put to death.

Not long after this, the *Carthaginians* fell out with the *Emperour*, and would needs have put *Sabianus* in his room; but *Gordianus* raised the *African* forces, which soon reconciled 'em; insomuch that they deliver'd up the *Usurper* (that would have been) begged pardon for their Offences and freed themselves from all imminent dangers.

In the mean time *Gordianus* married the Daughter of *Timeficles* (who was a man very much applauded for his learning) and made him *Prefect* of the *Court*; by which action he seemed to supply the defects of his own nonage in the administration of publick Affairs. But when he had secur'd the *Empire*, he look'd every hour when the *Perians* would attaque the *Eastern Nations*, since *Sapores* was *King* upon the *Death* of *Artaxerxes*, who restored the *Government* back from the *Parthians* to the *Perians*. For after *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* was dead, and other Successors of his in the *Macedonian Empire* (at that time when *Antiochus* govern'd those superiour *Satrapies* or *Provinces*) *Arsaces*, a *Parthian*, being incensed at an injury offer'd to his Brother *Tiridates*, levyed War against the *Satrape* of *Antiochus*, gave occasion to the *Parthians* to turn out all the *Macedonians*, and make

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the Government their own. The *Emperour* therefore made all the preparations that he could to go against the *Perians*. Now though the *Roman Army* seemed to have gotten the Victory in the first fight, yet seeing *Timeficles*, the *Prefect* of the *Court*, died, the *Emperours* great Confidence in the security of his enterprize was very much abated. For *Philip* being chosen in his place, the good will of the Soldiers toward the *Emperour* decay'd by degrees and grew insensible. For he being born in *Arabia* (which is a wicked Nation) and no better than he should have been in the advancement of his Fortune, as soon as he got into his Office, affected to be *Emperour*, obliged all the Soldiers who were inclined to innovations, and seeing there was plenty of military provisions brought in, whilst the *Emperour* stay'd about *Carrae* and *Nisbis*, commanded the Ships that brought such provisions to go up farther into the Country, that thereby the Army, being oppress'd with Famine and want of necessaries, might be provoked to mutiny.

And indeed his Design took effect; for the Soldiers, under pretence of wanting necessities, came about *Gordianus* in a very rude manner, and having kill'd him as the chief cause, that so many perish'd in

the Army, they conferr'd the Purple Robe upon *Philip* according to their Contract. He therefore made a Peace with *Sapores* upon Oath; which when he had done and put an end to the War, he march'd toward *Rome*: and as he obliged the Soldiers with large gifts, so he sent Messengers to *Rome*, to give out that *Gordianus* died of a Disease. But when he came to *Rome* himself, and had made the *Senatorial Order* his Friends, he thought it the best way to bestow the greatest preferments upon his nearest Relations. Wherefore he made his Brother *Priscus General* of the *Syrian Army*, committing the *Myrian* and *Macedonian* forces to the conduct of *Severianus* his Son-in-law.

By this means thinking that he had establish'd the *Empire* in his own possession, he went upon an Expedition against the *Carpi*, who had plunder'd all the Country about the *Ister*. But when they engaged, the Barbarians were not able to sustein the vigorous shock of our party; and therefore fled into a certain Castle, in which they were besieged. Yet when they saw their men, who were dispersed some one way and some another, had rally'd again into a body, they resumed their courage, and sallying forth from the Castle attaqued the *Roman Army*.

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But being unable to bear the impetuous onset of the *Moors*, they treated for Peace, to which *Philip* easily assented and march'd off. But since at that time there were many disturbances in the *Commonwealth*, the *Eastern Provinces* (who were vexed, partly by the exactions of Tributes, and partly upon the account of *Priscus*, who was their Governor, but an intolerable ill man) inclined to innovation and set up *Papianus* for *Emperour*, whilst those of *Mygia* and *Pannonia* thought better of *Marinus*.

Now *Philip* being troubled at these things desired the *Senate* that either they would assist him against such imminent dangers, or if they were displeased with his Government, that they would suffer him to lay it down and dismiss him quietly: to which seeing no body at all reply'd, *Decius*, (who was a person of great birth and quality and adorned with all Virtues besides) said, He was unwise to be so much concern'd for those things; for they would vanish of themselves and could not possibly subsist. And though the event answer'd *Decius's Conjecture*, which he had made through long experience in the World, so that *Papianus* and *Marinus* were taken off; yet *Philip* was still affraid, because he knew how much

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the Souldiers hated the Officers in that Countrey. He therefore desired *Decius*, that he would command the Legions that were in *Mysia* and *Pannonia*. Which he refusing, because, he said, he thought it inconvenient for him and *Philip* too, *Philip* used the *Thessalian Rhetorick of Neceſſity* (as they call it) and forced him into *Pannonia* to chastise the accomplices of *Marinus's* faction there. But the Soldiers in those parts seeing *Decius* punish all those that had offended, thought it their best way both to avoid the present danger and set up a *Monarch* at the same time, who would take more care of the *Commonwealth*, and, being more skilful in Civil as well as Military Affairs, might easily conquer *Philip*.

In order whereunto they cloathed *Decius* in *Purple*, and, amidst all his fears of future misadventures, compelled him to assume the management of publick Affairs. When therefore *Philip* heard, that *Decius* was thus set up for Emperor, he muster'd up all his forces, to subdue him. Now those that were with *Decius*, though they knew the Enemy outdid 'em much in number, yet they had courage still, because they trusted to *Decius's* skill and general prudence in all matters. And when the two Armies fell to it, though

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the one was superior in number, yet the other was above it in point of Discipline and Conduct, so that a great many of *Philip's* side were slain and he himself among the rest, together with his Son, whom he had honour'd with the Title of *Cæsar*. And thus did *Decius* gain the Empire.

Now therefore seeing things were every where full of disorder through *Philip's* negligence, the *Scythians* march'd over *Tanäis*, and plunder'd the Countreys about *Thrace*. But *Decius* oppos'd 'em and prov'd not onely victorious in all the Battels that he fought, but recover'd the spoils that they had taken, endeavour'd to prevent and block up their passage home again, and intended to kill 'em every man, lest they should rally any more. For which purpose he posted *Gallus* upon the bank of *Tanäis* with a competent number of men, and went himself with the remainder of his forces against the Enemy. In which expedition he had all the success that he could wish for; and therefore *Gallus*, who was inclined to *Innovation*, sent Agents to the *Barbarians*, entreating them to joyn with him in a Conspiracy against *Decius*. To which they very willingly agreed and *Gallus* kept his Post upon the bank of *Tanäis*; but the *Barbarians* di-

ded themselves into three *Battalions*, of which the first was planted behind a certain Marsh. Now when *Decius* had destroy'd a great many of the first *Battalion*, the second came up, which he likewise defeated and discover'd some of the third, which lay near the Marsh. But *Gallus* sent him word, that he might march against 'em through the Fenn, and therefore as he went on unwarily in a strange place, both he and his Army were bemired, and in that circumstance so pelted by the *Barbarians*, that ne'r an one of 'em escaped alive. And thus did *Decius*, that excellent *Emperour*, end his days.

Him *Gallus* succeeded; who when he had declared his Son *Volusianus Partner* in the *Empire*, and made a *Proclamation*, as it were, that *Decius* and his Army perish'd by his contrivance, the *Barbarians* began to be more prosperous than before. For *Gallus* permitted them not onely to return home with the spoil, but promised to pay 'em yearly a certain sum of Money, and let 'em carry away all the noblest Captives; who had been, most of 'em, taken at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*.

Now *Gallus*, when he had order'd his Affairs in this manner, came to *Rome*, and was very proud of this Peace that he had made with the *Barbarians*. And though

though at first indeed he spake very kindly concerning *Decius*'s way of Governing, and adopted one of his Sons, who was then alive, yet in process of time being afraid, lest some of them who used to study new Projects, might run back into a recapitulation of *Decius*'s Princely Virtues, and so one time or other give up the Empire to his Son, he devised the young mans destruction, without any regard either to his Adoption, or even to common honesty and justice.

But *Gallus* behaved himself so supinely in the *Administration* of the *Empire*, that the *Scythians* first terrified their Neighbour Nations, and after, by degrees, spoil'd all the Countreys even to the Sea-coast. So that there was not so much as one Nation, subject to the *Romans*, but what they wasted; taking almost all the unwall'd Towns, besides a great many of those that were fortified. But besides a War on every side; which lay very heavy upon 'em, there was a Plague in all the Cities, and Villages, which swept away the remainder of Mankind in those parts, nor was there ever known such a mortality in any former Age.

At this juncture of Affairs, seeing the *Emperours* were not able to defend the *Commonwealth*, but neglected all things without

without the Walls of *Rome*, the *Gotths*, the *Borani*, the *Urugundi*, and the *Carpi* did once more plunder the Cities in *Europe* of all that was left in 'em; whilst on the other hand the *Perians* invaded *Asia*, wherein they possess'd themselves of *Mesopotamia*, proceeded as far even as *Antioch* in *Syria*, took that City, which is the *Metropolis* of all the *East* (killing some of the Inhabitants and taking the rest away Captives) and went back home with an infinite quantity of spoils, when they had pull'd down all the private and publick Buildings in it, without any resistance made against 'em. And indeed the *Perians* were in a fair way to have gotten all *Asia* into their hands, if they had not been so overjoy'd at their excessive Plunder as to be content to keep and carry home those things which they had taken.

In the mean time all the *Scythians* of *Europe* lived in great security, were gone over into *Asia*, and had spoil'd all the Countrey as far as *Cappadocia*, *Pesinus* and *Ephesus*, till *Æmilianus*, General of the *Pannonian Legions*, endeavouring all he could to encourage his Soldiers (who were disheartned, nor durst withstand the prosperous success of the *Barbarians*) and putting 'em in mind of the *Roman Honour* and *Bravery*, surpriz'd the *Barbarians*, which

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he found thereabout: And when he had kill'd a great many of them, put his men over into their Countrey, remov'd whatever obstacle he met with, and, in fine, had freed the *Roman Subjects* from their fury, He was chosen *Emperour* by his own Soldiers. Thereupon he muster'd up all the forces of that Countrey, who were grown more courageous since his Victory against the *Barbarians*, and so march'd for *Italy*, with a design to fight *Gallus*, who was yet unprepared to engage him. For *Gallus* had never heard what had been done in the *East*, and therefore made onely what accidental preparations he could, whilst *Valerianus* went to fetch the *Celtick* and the *German Legions*. But *Æmilianus* came with all speed into *Italy*, and the Armies were very near one another, when *Gallus*'s Soldiers considering, that he was much inferiour to the Enemy in numbers and strength, as also, that he was a careless, slothful man, kill'd him and his Son; and then going over to *Æmilianus*'s Party seemed to establish his *Government*.

But *Valerianus* brought a vast Army from beyond the *Alpes* into *Italy*, with which he thought himself sure to Conquer *Æmilianus*; and therefore *Æmilianus*'s own Soldiers, who saw him behave himself more like a private Sentinel than

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an Emperour, took him off as a Person unfit for such a weighty Command.

By which means *Valerianus* was chosen Emperour with general approbation, and made it his busines to regulate all Affairs; But by the excursions of the *Scythians*, and besides them, the *Marcomanni*, who made an inrode upon all the bordering Countreys, adjacent to the *Roman Empire*, *Theffalonica* was in extream danger: and though with much pains and difficulty the Siege was raised by the brave defence which those within made, yet all *Greece* was in an uproar. Then did the *Athenians* repair their Walls (which had never been thought worth their care since *Sylla* pull'd 'em down) and so likewise did the *Peloponnesians* fortifie the *Isthmus*, insomuch that there was a common Guard upon all *Greece* set for their own security.

Valerianus, understanding what danger the *Roman Empire* was in on all sides, chose *Gallienus*, his Son, as Partner with him in the Government; and seeing things every where in such disorder, went into the *East* to oppose the *Persians*, committing the care of the forces in *Europe* to his Son, whom he engaged with that Army to withstand the *Barbarians*, who came in upon him from all quarters. Now there-

therefore *Gallienus*, since the *Germans* were more troublesom, than any other Nation, and more vexatious to the *Gauls* that li-
vea upon the *Rhine*, march'd against 'em in Person, and commanded his Officers, with what forces they had there, to make a War against all others, who were resolv'd to plunder all *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*. In pursuit of which design, He kept and guarded the passages of the *Rhine*, as well as he could; and as at one time he stopp'd their going over, so at another he fought 'em just as they cross'd it. But being to resist a vast multitude with a small number, he was at a loss, and thought he might be more secure by making a League with one of the *German* Princes, who not onely hinder'd the frequent passage of the other *Barbarians* over the *Rhine*, but stopp'd the Career of new Auxiliaries. And this was the condition of those, who lived upon the *Rhine*.

In the mean time the *Borani*, the *Gethi*, the *Carpi*, and the *Urugundi* (which are Nations living upon the *Ister*) left no part of *Italy* or *Illyricum* unpillaged, but without any opposition, made havock of all. And indeed the *Borani* attempted to go over into *Asia*, which they very easily effected by the help of them that lived upon the *Bosphorus*, who more out of fear than

than any good will supply'd them with Ships and guided 'em in their passage. For though as long as they had *Kings* of their own, who succeeded one another by descent, they always kept the *Scythians* out of *Asia*, either for the love they bore the *Romans*, or for the sake of their Trade and Commerce, or in gratitude for the Presents sent 'em every year from their *Kings*; yet afterward, when the Royal Line was extinct, and certain mean, abject Persons had gotten the Power in their hands, they were affraid of themselves, and gave the *Scythians* free ingress into *Asia*, nay carry'd them over and came back again in their own Ships.

But whilst the *Scythians* plunder'd all before 'em, the People, who inhabited upon the Sea-coast of *Pontus*, removed into the midland fortified Towns; and the *Barbarians* at the same time made the first attaque upon *Pityus*, which is inclosed with a very strong Wall and has a very convenient Harbor. But *Suceffianus*, General of the Army there, made such resistance with what forces he had, that he routed the *Barbarians*, and put them into a fear, lest if the other Garisons should hear what was done, they might join with those of *Pityus* and quite destroy 'em; insomuch that they got as many Ships as they

they could, and with great hazard return'd home, though with the loss of many of their men who fell in the Battel at *Pityus*. They therefore, who lived near the *Euxine* Sea and were preserved by the conduct of *Suceffianus* (as I have told you) could never hope (or rather fear) that the *Scythians*, who had been so repuls'd, would come over to 'em any more. But, whilst *Valerianus* sent for *Suceffianus*, made him Prefect of the Court, and discours'd with him about the Affairs and the repairing of *Antioch*, the *Scythians* got Ships of the *Bosphorus*, and cross'd the Sea. But the Inhabitants of the other side detein'd the Ships and would not suffer the *Bosphorus* to take 'em home again (as they had done) whereupon they travail'd into the Countrey near *Phafis*, where, they say, is the Temple of *Diana* (called from the place) *Phafiana*, and the Palace of King *Aeta*; and having in vain attempted to take that Temple, went streight to *Pityus*.

Where when they had taken the Castle, and turn'd out all the Guards that were in it, they went on forward; and having a very numerous Navy, wherinto they put all the Captives who knew how to handle an Oar, they sailed, in calm weather, which continued almost all the Summer, to-

toward *Trapezus*, which is a great and populous City, and had in it some ten thousand men besides their usual Complement. They therefore, when they first laid Siege to it, did not so much as dream they should take it, because it was surrounded with two Walls; but when they observed that the Soldiers were given up to sloth and drunkenness, and did not continue upon the Wall, but were always in pursuit of pleasures and debauchery; they piled up Trees which they had prepared for the purpose against the Wall whereby to scale it, and so getting their men up by degrees in the night-time they took the City; whilst the Soldiers within were amazed at the sudden and unexpected invasion, but made a shift to escape through several Gates of the City, and the rest were destroy'd by the Enemy. And when the City was thus taken, the *Barbarians* got an unspeakable quantity of Money besides an infinite number of Slaves: for almost all the Countrey people thereabout were fled into that City for refuge, as being a well-fortified place. They therefore having demolish'd all the Temples and Houses besides other things whatever they were that conduced either to the grandeur or beauty of the Place, and over-ran the adjacent Countrey too,

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return'd home with a great number of Ships.

When the *Scythians*, that were their Neighbours, saw what a booty they had gotten, they had a mind to do something in imitation of 'em, and to that end prepared a Fleet, which either their Captives or others that for want had mix'd themselves among them, help'd 'em to build. But they resolv'd not to set out as the *Borani* had done; because it was tedious and difficult to sail that way, and they must pass through places that were already plunder'd. Wherefore they stay'd till Winter, and then leaving the *Euxine* Sea on the left hand, but *Ister*, *Tomes* and *Anchialus* on the right (whilst their Land-forces march'd by the shore as fast as they could) they arrived at the Lake of *Philexina*, which lies to the Westward of *Byzantium* near *Pontus*. But finding that the Fishermen of that Lake had hidden themselves and their Vessels in the Fens adjacent to it, they went and made an agreement with 'em, put their Land-forces into the Fishermens Boats and so sailed forward in order to pass the streight, that lies between *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*. And though there was a Guard from *Chalcedon* all along as far as the Temple which stands at the entrance into *Pontus*,

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that was much too strong for the *Barbarians* who came against it, yet some of the Soldiers march'd off under pretence of meeting a General that the Emperor had sent thither, and others were in such a fright that they ran away as fast as they could when they first heard of it. Whereupon the *Barbarians* cross'd over, took *Chalcedon* without any opposition, and made themselves masters of Money, Arms, and other provisions in abundance.

From hence they march'd on to *Nicomedia*, a great and wealthy City, fam'd both for the riches and general affluence of it: where though the Citizens had heard of their coming and were run away with all the Money they could carry, the *Barbarians* notwithstanding admired at the vast quantity of things that they found there and pay'd *Chrysogonus* all Honour and service, who had formerly advised 'em to *Nicomedia*. And when they had over-ran *Nicæa*, *Cius*, *Apamea*, and *Pruſſa* and done the same in those places, they went toward *Cysicus*; but the River *Rhyndacus* was so mightily cut by reason of the great Rains that had fallen, they could not pass and so were forced to go back again. Then they burnt *Nicomedia* and *Nicæa*, and putting up or stowing their Spoils in Carts or Ships, began to think of going

ing home again; which put an end to their second incursion, or inrode.

By this time *Valerianus* had heard of the disturbances in *Bithynia*, but durst not trust any of his Captains with the defence of it, he was so diffident: Wherefore he sent *Felix* to look after *Byzantium*, and went himself from *Antioch* as far as *Cappadocia*, where having done some injury to every City as he passed along, he returned homeward. But then the Plague happen'd among his Army and destroy'd most of 'em at what time *Sapores* made an Attempt upon the East and reduced it all into his own Power. In the meantime *Valerianus* was so effeminate and supine that he despair'd of ever recovering out of the present ill circumstances and would have put an end to the War by giving of Money; but *Sapores* sent his Embassadors whom he sent about that Affair away without their Errand, desiring that the Emperor would come, and parley with him, in Person, concerning those things that he thought requisite: To which he consented, like an imprudent man as he was, and going without any consideration to *Sapores* with a small Retinue, to treat forsooth about a Peace, was presently taken by the Enemy; and so ended

ed his days in the quality of a Slave among the *Persians*, to the great dishonour of the *Roman Name* in all future times.

This being the State of the East, all things at that time, were in a confus'd, helpless condition. But the *Scythians* were unanimous and therefore mustering themselves into one body out of every Nation and Countrey within their Dominions, they plunder'd *Illyricum* with some part of their Army, wasting the Cities in those parts, and march'd with the rest into *Italy* as far as *Rome* it self.

In the mean time *Gallienus* continu'd still beyond the *Alpes*, intent upon the *German Wars*, whilst the Senate, seeing *Rome* in such extream danger, arm'd all the Soldiers that were in the City, besides the stronger sort of the Common People, and gather'd up an Army which for number out-did the *Barbarians*. At which the *Barbarians* were so scar'd, that they left *Rome* indeed, but pillaged almost all *Italy* besides. But then, when *Illyricum* was in extream danger from the incursion of the *Scythians*, and the whole *Roman Empire* in such a tottering condition, that they knew not what to do; there happen'd a Plague to break out very rife in feveral of their Towns, the like

like was never known, that did alleviate the Calamities which the *Barbarians* inflicted upon them, making the sick esteem themselves happy, and the Cities too, that were already taken, but by this means, turn'd into Deserts.

Gallienus was disturb'd at all these things and therefore return'd to *Rome*, to relieve *Italy* from that War which the *Scythians* had levied there; when at the same time *Crecrops* (a Moor) *Aureolus* and *Antoninus* with many others conspir'd against him, of whom most part were punish'd for it and submitted, onely *Aureolus* continu'd in his animosity toward the Emperour.

After this *Posthumus* also, who was General of the *Celtick Army*; inclined toward Innovation, and taking along with him certain Soldiers, that revolted at the same time, went to *Aprippina*, which is the greatest City upon the *Rhine*; where he besieged *Salonius*, *Gallienus's Son*, and threaten'd never to stir from before the Walls, till he was delivered up to him. For which reason the Soldiers thought it necessary to surrender not onely him, but *Silvanus* too (whom his Father had made his Guardian,) both of whom *Posthumus* put to death and made himself absolute Lord of the *Celtæ*.

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And now the *Scythians*, who had most miserably harass'd all *Greece* in general, had taken *Athens*, when *Gallienus* came out to fight those who had already possest'd themselves of *Thrace*, and command'd *Odonathus* of *Palmyra* (a man whose Ancestors the Emperors had always born a great respect to) to assist the Eastern Nations, who were then in a very sad condition. Accordingly he, when he had joined as many of his own men as he could to the remainder of an Army that was left in that Countrey, attaqued *Sapores* very briskly, and having taken some other Cities belonging to the *Persians*, he retook *Nisibis* also, which *Sapores* had formerly taken (and was now for the *Persians*) and razed it at the same time. Then going not onely once, but a second time, as far as *Cteiphon*, he shut the *Persians* up in their own fortifications, and made 'em glad to save their Wives, Children and themselves, whilst he disposed of the pillaged Countrey as well as he could.

But afterward when he lived at *Emisa*, he was kill'd by Conspiracy as he was celebrating some friends birth-day, and then *Lenobia* took upon her the administration of Affairs. Who though she were *Odonathus's* Wife, yet she had the spirit of

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a man in her, and by the help of her Husbands familiar friends, did every thing as well as he had done.

And this was the State of the East, when news was brought to *Gallienus*, who was then ingaged in the *Scythian War*, that *Aurelian* [or rather, *Aureolus*] who was General of all the Cavalry, that were posted about the City of *Millain*, to observe what progres *Posthamus* made into *Italy*, had some new design on foot, and was ambitious to be Emperour. At which being troubled he went immediately for *Italy*, leaving *Macrianus* General of the War against the *Scythians*, who was a Person very well experienced in Military Affairs: but whilst he carry'd on the War with very good Conduct, *Gallienus*, in his journey toward *Italy*, had a Plot laid against him, which was this. *Heraclianus*, Prefect of the Court, had made *Cladius* privy to his design (who, next to the Emperour, managed every thing in all appearance) which was to kill *Gallienus*: And having found a man very ready for such a business, that commanded a Troop of *Dalmatians*, he entrusted him with the Action. For the effecting whereof the party stood by *Gallienus* at Supper-time and told him, how some of the Scouts had brought word, that *Aureolus*

and his Army were very near ; and thereby put him in a great fright. Whereupon immediately calling for his Horse and Arms, he mounted, gave the Word to his men to come in their Armour after him, and rode away without so much as his *Guard du corps* ; so that the Captain, seeing him all alone, kill'd him.

Now therefore, when the Soldiers were quieted by Order from their Commanders, *Claudius* was chosen Emperor, who had been formerly design'd for that Honour by universal agreement. Whereupon *Aureolus*, who had kept himself a good while out of *Gallienus*'s hands, sent Agents presently to *Claudius*, to make his Peace, and then surrendering himself up was kill'd by the Emperours Guards, who had not forgotten the hatred that they bore to him for his Treachery.

At this time the *Scythians* (all that were left of 'em) were so encouraged by their former success, that they, together with the *Heruli*, *Peuce* and *Gothi*, made a Rendezvouz near the River *Tyra*, which discharges it self into *Pontus*; where having built six thousand Ships and put three hundred and twenty thousand aboard of 'em, they sailed through *Pontus*, and attempted *Tomes* which is a Wall'd Town, but were beaten off from it. From thence they

they went to *Marcianople*, a City of *Mysia*, but failing there too in their attempt to take it, took the opportunity of a fair Wind and sailed forward. But when they came to the Streights of *Propontis*, the Ships were so numerous that they could not well sail in such a violent swift stream [or Tide] and therefore fell foul upon one another whilst the Yatchs were carry'd down without any order, and the Pilots let go their Helms : insomuch that some were sunk, and some with, others without men in them, were driven ashore, to their great loss both of Men and Vessels. Upon which account the *Barbarians* receded from the Streights of *Propontis*, and sailed toward *Cyzicus*. But coming from thence without success, and sailing by the *Hellespont*, they came to the Mountain *Athos*; where when they had careen'd or refitted their Ships, they besieged *Cassandra* and *Thessalonica*, having like to have taken 'em with Machines that they built against the Walls. But when they heard, the Emperor was acoming with an Army, they went up into the Midland-Countrey, plundering all about *Doberus* and *Pelagonia*. And there they lost three thousand men, whose fortune it was to meet with the *Dalmatian* Cavalry, but with the rest they fought

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fought the Emperors Army. In which Battel though many fell on both sides, and the *Romans* seemed to run, yet they surpriz'd the *Barbarians* from by-ways and Ambuscades so as to kill full fifty thousand of them. Yet the [remaining] part of the *Scythians* failed all about *Thessaly* and *Greece* to pilage all the Countrey, and since they were not strong enough to attaque the Towns which had taken care to fortifie themselves with good Walls and all other security, they took and carry'd away with 'em all the men that they found in the Fields.

The *Scythians* therefore being thus dispersed, as I have told you, and having lost a great part of their men, *Zenobia* began to think of propagating her Dominions; and therefore sent *Zabdas* into *Egypt*, because *TImagenes* an *Egyptian* endeavour'd to make the *Palmyrenians* Governors of *Egypt*. For he had raised an Army of *Palmyrenians*, *Syrians* and *Barbarians* to the number of seventy thousand, which was opposed by fifty thousand *Egyptians*; between whom and their Adversaries there was a sharp engagement, but the *Palmyrenians* got the day by many degrees; and having settled a Garison there of five thousand men, march'd off.

Whilst

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Whilst these things were transacted, *Probus*, whom the Emperor commanded to clear the Sea of Pirates, having heard that *Egypt* was subdu'd by the *Palmyrenians*, went against them with his own Army and as many of the *Egyptians* as did not favour the *Palmyrenians* and turned out the Garison. So likewise a second time, when the *Palmyrenians* rallied with fresh forces, *Probus* who had mustered up a company of *Egyptians*, and *Africans*, not onely got the Victory, but drove the *Palmyrenians* out of *Egypt*. But as *Probus* lay upon a Mountain near *Babylon*, and thereby intercepted the Enemies passage into *Syria*, *TImagenes*, who knew those parts very well, went with two thousand men and got atop of the Mountain, where he kill'd the *Egyptians* by surprize, and *Probus*, who was taken among the rest, kill'd himself.

When therefore as *Egypt* was now reduced into the power of the *Palmyrenians*, the *Barbarians*, that were left alive after the fight at *Naissus* between *Cladius* and the *Scythians*, defending themselves, as it were, with their Carriages which went before 'em, march'd toward *Macedonia*, but were so hard put to it for want of necessaries, that both themselves and their Beasts perished for meer hunger.

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ger. And by the way too the *Roman Horse* met 'em, who killing many of 'em forc'd the rest toward *Hæmus*; where being surrounded by the *Roman Army* they lost a vast number of their men. But afterward when the Horse and Foot fell out among themselves, the Emperor having a mind that the Foot should fight the *Barbarians*, the Romans, after a smart engagement, were worsted and many of 'em slain, though the Horse coming presently up to 'em made the miscarriage of the Foot seem so much the less.

This Battel being over, the *Scythians* march'd forward and the *Romans* follow'd 'em, whilst the *Barbarians*, who cruised about *Crete* and *Rhodes* went back without doing any thing worth the speaking of; and being seiz'd with a Plague in their way home, some of 'em died in *Thrace* and some in *Macedonia*. But all that escaped were either admitted into the *Roman Legions*, or had Land given 'em to manure and so addicted themselves to Husbandry.

Nor did the Plague sweep away the *Barbarians* onely but began to be rife among the *Romans* also, who, many of 'em, dy'd of it, and, among the rest, *Claudius*; a Person adorn'd with all Virtues, whose death was a great loss to all his loving Sub-

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Subjects, and he consequently very much miss'd among 'em.

Then *Quintillus*, *Claudius's Brother*, was declared Emperour, who lived not many months (nor did any thing worth ones taking notice of) before *Aurelianu*s was advanced to the Imperial Throne: and some Writers say, that *Quintillus* was advised by his Friends, assoon as they heard that *Aurelianu*s was made Emperor, to make himself away and voluntarily give place to a man much more deserving: which, they report, he did, by opening a Vein and bleeding to death.

*Aurelianu*s therefore having settled the Empire, went from *Rome* to *Aquileia* and thence to *Pannonia*, which the *Scythians*, as he heard, were ready to invade. For which reason he sent the Inhabitants of that Countrey word by his Scouts, that he would have 'em carry all the Corn and Cattel which they had, and every thing else, that might be of use to the Enemy, into their Towns; the more to afflict them with famine, which was already very sharp upon them. But when the *Barbarians* were got over the River into *Pannonia* they fought and came off pretty equal; for the Night coming on, no one could tell which side had the better on't. Yet the same Night the *Barbarians*

rians cross'd the River, and as soon as it was Day, sent Embassadors or Heralds to treat for Peace.

And now the Emperour hearing that the *Alemanes* with their Neighbour Nations intended to over-run *Italy*, he was (as he had reason to be) more concern'd for *Rome* and the adjacent places, than any other: wherefore having ordered a sufficient number of Guards to stay in *Pannonia*, he march'd toward *Italy*; but by the way, upon the borders of that Countrey, near the *Ister*, kill'd many thousands of the *Barbarians* in one Battel. At which time several of the Senate at *Rome* being accused of a Plot against the Emperour, were put to death for it; and *Rome* was Walled about which before had no Walls. But though that Work was begun in *Aurelianu's* time, it was finish'd by *Probus*.

At the same time also were *Epitimius*, *Urbanius* and *Domitianus* suspected for Innovators, and being immediately apprehended were punish'd for it.

But whilst Affairs were thus managed in *Italy* and *Pannonia*, the Emperour was a-thinking to go with an Army against the *Palmyrenians*, who had subdu'd all *Egypt* and the East as far as *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, and would have gotten *Bithynia*, even

even to *Chalcedon*, if the People of that Countrey had not heard that *Aurelianu's* was Emperour and so shook off the *Palmyrenian* yoke of Government. Wherefore as soon as the Emperour was on his way thither, *Ancyra* submitted to the *Romans*, and after that, *Tyana*, with all the Cities betwixt that and *Antioch*. Where finding *Zenobia* with a great Army ready prepared for Battel, as he himself also was, he, as he was in honour bound, met and engaged her. But seeing the *Palmyrenian* Cavalry confid'd very much in their Armour which was heavy, strong and secure, being also much better Horsemen than his Soldiers, he planted his Foot somewhere beyond the River *Orontes* in a place by themselves, and gave the *Roman* Horse a charge not presently to engage with the vigorous *Palmyrenian* Cavalry, but to stay till they made the first attaque, and then pretend that they shew'd to fly, and continue so to do, till they were sensible they had tired both the men and their Horses through the excess of Heat and weight of their Armour, so, that they could pursue 'em no longer. Which Project took effect, and the Emperours Horse observ'd his order; so that as soon as they saw the Enemy tired, and that their Horses were hardly able to stand under

under 'em, or they themselves to stir, they reined in their Horses [stopp'd their Career] and [turn'd [wheel'd about] set upon them, and trod them under feet as they fell of themselves from their Horses back. By which means the slaughter of 'em was promiscuous, some being kill'd with their Swords, and others partly by their own and partly by the Enemies Horses.

Upon this Defeat as many as could, got into *Antioch*; therefore *Laddas*, who was *Zenobias's* General, fearing lest the *Antiochians* should hear of it and mutiny, pick'd out a Person somewhat hoary, much like the Emperour, and cloathing him in such a Garb as it was likely *Aurelian* used to wear in time of War, led him through the whole City, as if he had taken the Emperour Captive. With which contrivance he imposed upon the *Antiochians*, stole out of the City by Night and took *Zenobia* with the remaining part of the Army along with him to *Emisa*. In the mean time the Emperour minded his business, and assoon as it was Day, called the Foot-Souldiers about him again, with a design to attaque the routed Enemy on both sides, though hearing of *Zenobias's* escape, he enter'd *Antioch*, where the Citizens entertain'd him very kindly,

ly. But finding many had left the City for fear they might suffer for being of *Zenobias's* side; he set forth Edicts in all places to call 'em back and told 'em such things had happen'd more out of force and necessity, than of his own inclination.

Which when the Fugitives saw, they came in whole droves, and were courteously receiv'd by the Emperour; who having disposed of Affairs in that City went thence to *Emisa*. Where when he found that a Party of the *Palmyrenians* had got possession of a certain Hill above the Suburbs of *Daphne* (and thought by the steepness of it to stop the Enemies passage) he commanded his Soldiers to march up with their Bucklers so near to one another and in so close an order, as to keep off Darts and Stones, if any were thrown down upon 'em, by the meer contiguity of their Armour. And so they did. Nor were they sooner got up the Hill, according to Command, but being in all points equal to their Adversaries they put 'em to the run, [made 'em fly,] so that some of 'em were dash'd to pieces down from the precipices, others kill'd in the pursuit by those that were upon the Hill and those that were a coming up. But let the Enemy scape as they could, when

the Day was theirs, they march'd on with great satisfaction, that the Emperor made his way with such success; whilst *Apamea*, *Larissa* and *Aretusa* entertain'd him. He therefore seeing the *Palmyrenian* Army drawn up before *Emisa* in a body of seventy thousand men, consisting of *Palmyrenes* and their Allies, he opposed 'em with the *Dalmatian* Cavalry; the *Mysians* and *Pannonians*, beside those of *Noricum* and *Rhaetia*, which are *Celtick* Legions. Nay more than that, there were the best of all the Imperial Regiment, pick'd out and chosen man by man, the *Morisco* Horse, the *Tyaneans*, the *Mesopotamians*, the *Syrians*, the *Phenicians*, and the *Palestinians* out of *Asia*, all men of undoubted courage: among whom the *Palestinians*, besides their other Arms, had Clubs and Quarter-staves. Now when they fell to it, the *Roman* Cavalry seemed a little to give way, lest the *Palmyrenes* who were too many for 'em and better Horsemen should by some stratagem environ the *Roman* Army. But in truth the *Palmyrene* Horse pursu'd 'em so hard (though they broke their Ranks) that the event was quite contrary to what the *Roman* Cavalry expected. For they were pursu'd by an Enemy much too strong for them; and therefore 'they were most

of

of 'em slain, but the fatigue of the Day lay chiefly, as it happen'd, upon the Foot. For seeing the *Palmyrenes* had broken their Ranks when the Horse made their pursuit, they wheeled about and set upon 'em whilst they were scatter'd and out of order. Whereupon many were kill'd because the one side fought with usual Weapons, but those of *Palestine* brought Clubs and Staves against Coats of Maile made of iron and brass. And that in some sense was the chief cause of Victory; because the Enemy was amazed to see 'em fight so strangely with Clubs. The *Palmyrenes* therefore ran away as fast as they could, and in their flight trod one another to pieces, though they were kill'd by the Enemy also; insomuch that the Field was full of dead Men and Horses, whilst some that could get away, made into the City.

Zenobia (as you may suppose) was not a little disturb'd at this defeat of hers, and therefore consulted what was best to be done. But all her friends were of Opinion, that she had better relinquish the thoughts of any pretensions to *Emisa*; because the *Emisenes* were disaffected to her and friends to the *Romans*. But they advised her to keep within *Palmyra*, and, when they had secur'd themselves in

that strong City, they would deliberate about their grand Affairs at leisure. Nor was this sooner said than done, by the concurrence of the whole Assembly.

But *Aurelianuſ*, when he heard that *Zenobia* was fled away, went into *Emisa*, where he was frankly entertain'd by the Citizens; and having found a Treasure, which *Zenobia* could not carry along with her, he immediately march'd with his Army to *Palmyra*, which he besieged quite round; whilst the neighbouring Countrys supply'd his men with all kind of Provisions. In the mean time the *Palmyrenes* jeered the *Romans*, as if they thought it impossible for them to take the Town; and one Fellow in particular spoke very undecent words concerning the Emperors own Person; whereupon a certain *Persian*, that stood by him, said, If you please, Sir! you shall see me kill that impudent Rascal; To which the Emperor consented; and so the *Persian* presently planting himself behind some other mens backs, that he might not be discover'd, shot at him just as he was looking over the Battlements, and hit him, whilst he was yet uttering his insolent language, so that he fell down from the Wall before the Soldiers and the Emperor.

Yet

Yet the besieged stood it out, as hoping that the Enemy would draw off for want of Provisions; and persisted in their resolutions, till they found themselves want Necessaries. Whereupon they called a Council, in which it was determined, that they would fly immediately to *Euphrates* and there desire aid of the *Persians* in order to some new action against the *Romans*. Having so decreed they set *Zenobia* upon a She-Camel (which is the swiftest of that kind of Beasts and much fleeter than Horses are) and so convey'd her out of the City.

Aurelianuſ was troubled at *Zenobias's* escape; and therefore employ'd all his industry to send out Horsemen in pursuit of her. And they indeed took her, just as she was going over *Euphrates*, out of the Boat, and brought her to *Aurelianuſ*. At which surprizing sight though he was very much rejoiced, yet being naturally ambitious, and considering, that it would be no great honour to him in after-times to have conquer'd a Woman, he seemed a little uneasie.

In the mean while some of the *Palmyrenes*, that were shut up in the Town resolved bravely to expose themselves and run the risque of being taken, in defence of their City against the *Romans*; as, on

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the other hand some of 'em used humble, submissive gestures from off the Walls, and begg'd pardon for what was past. Which seeing the Emperour accepted and bad 'em be of good chear, they came pouring out of the Town, with Presents and Sacrifices in their hands. Whereupon *Aurelianuſ* having pay'd all due respect to their Holy Things, receiv'd their gifts and sent them away uninjur'd.

But when he was once made Master of this Town, with all the Stores, Money and Donaries in it, he went back to *Emisa*, where he called *Zenobia* and her Accomplices to account by way of publick Judicature. *Zenobia* therefore coming into the Court pleaded much in excuse of her self and produced many Persons, who seduced her as being a simple Woman; and among the rest, *Longinus*, (whose Writings are very beneficial to all Lovers of Learning) upon whom (being found guilty of the Crimes objected against him) the Emperour immediately pass'd the sentence of Death; which he bore with so much courage, that he spoke comfortable words even to his friends who were so much concern'd for his misfortunes. But besides *Longinus* there were others also that suffer'd upon *Zenobias's* accusation.

Now

Book I. of Count ZOSIMUS.

Now it were worth while to tell you what happen'd before the sacking of *Palmyra*; though I pretend onely to write a transient History as I told you in my Preface. For whereas *Polybius* gives us an account, how the *Romans* acquired a vast Empire in a short time, I, on the contrary, am to shew how by their own ill management they in as short a time lost it. But of that when I come to that part of the History; [I am now speaking of] the *Palmyrenes*: who having gain'd a great share of the *Roman* Empire (as I told you) had several Declarations from the Gods, which did portend that overthrow of theirs, which afterward fell out. As for example. At *Seleucia* in *Cilicia* there was a Temple of *Apollo* (called there *Sarpedonius*) and in that Temple, an Oracle. (But as to what is reported of that God (That he used to give all those, who were infested with swarms of Locusts, a certain kind of Birds, called *Seleuciades*, that used to be about his Temple, and would send 'em along with all People who desired it; and that the Birds would fly among the Locusts, take 'em in their mouths and kill an infinite number of them in a moment, so as to free People from the trouble of 'em) I ascribe to the happiness of that Age; since our genera-

tion has rejected such kindness from Heaven.) Now the *Palmyrenes* having consulted this Oracle, to know, if they should ever get the Empire of the East, the Answer was this;

*Avoid my Temple, Cursed, treacherous
(Nation !
Enough to put the Gods themselves in
(passion.*

And when certain persons enquired there also about the success of *Aurelian's* expedition against the *Palmyrenes*, the God told them;

*One Falcon many Doves commands, whose
(end
Upon his fatal pounces does depend.*

Besides which, there goes likewise another story of the *Palmyrenes*, and that's this: There is a place between *Heliopolis* and *Biblis* called *Aphaca*, where there is a Temple dedicated to *Venus Apbacitis*, and near unto it a Pond much like an artificial Cistern, and where likewise there is often seen, about the Temple and in places adjacent, a fire in the Air, resembling a Lamp or of a round Figure, which has appeared even in our time,

time, as often as people met there on such and such days. Which whosoever did, brought to the Pond some Present or other for the Goddess, whether of Gold, Silver, Linnen, Silk, or any other rich thing. By whom if it were accepted, the Cloth, like things of far greater weight, sunk to the bottom; but if they were rejected, you might see 'em float upon the top of the Water; not onely Cloth and such like, but even that which was made of Silver and Gold or other materials which are not apt to swim but sink. For an experiment of which Miracle the *Palmyrenes*, in the year before their overthrow, met together upon an Holy-day, and threw into the Pond several Presents of Gold, Silver and Cloth, in honour of the Goddess, which, all of 'em sunk to the bottom, but the next year upon the same Festival, were seen to float a top of the Water, by which the Goddess foretold what should afterward come to pass.

Now in this manner was the kindness of Heaven shewn to the *Romans*, as long as they kept up their holy Rites. But I come to speak of those times, in which the *Roman* Empire degenerated to a kind of Barbarity, and fell to decay; I will shew the reasons of such misfortunes, and

and set forth those Oracles, whereby such things were predicted.

In the mean time I ought to return thither from whence I digress'd : lest I should seem to leave the order of the History imperfect. *Aurelianuſ* therefore marching toward *Europe*, and carrying *Zenobia*, her Son, and all the rest, who were Confederates in the Rebellion along with him, they say *Zenobia* died either of a Disease or for want of eating ; but that all the rest were drown'd in the Streight between *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*.

Nevertheless *Aurelianuſ* continu'd his Journey into *Europe* ; when, by the way, a Messenger came and told him, there were a parcel of men whom he had left in *Palmyra*, that, having won *Apsæus* (the great Author of all that was past) were tampering with *Marcellinus* (whom the Emperor had made Prefect of *Mesopotamia*, and Governour of the East) to take upon him the Imperial Robe. But he, under pretence of taking time to deliberate, put 'em off so long, that they importun'd him again several times. Wherefore he was fain to frame ambiguous answers to their Demands, till he had given *Aurelianuſ* notice what he design'd

to

to do. But the *Palmyrenes* [in the mean time] having cloathed *Antiochus* in a purple garment, kept at *Palmyra*.

When *Aurelianuſ* heard that, he went into the East, just as he was, [without any other preparations] and coming to *Antioch* surpriz'd all the People, who were then at an Horse-match, and mightily astonish'd to see him ; but from thence he went on to *Palmyra*. Which Town he took and razed without fighting for it ; but not thinking that *Antiochus* was worth the punishing upon the account of his mean condition, he dismiss'd him. After which action of his, he quickly reduced the *Alexandrians*, who were inclinable to a Rebellion, as being already in a tumult. For which he rode in Triumph into *Rome*, where he was most magnificently receiv'd by the Senate and People. At this time also he built that sumptuous Temple of the Sun , which he adorn'd with all those holy spoils, that he brought from *Palmyra*; setting up in it the Statues of the Sun and *Belus*. Which having done, he easily subdu'd *Tetricus*, with his rebellious Complices, whom he brought to condign punishment. He likewise called in all the counterfeit money and gave out new, to avoid confusion in Trade. Besides which he also bestow'd a Dole of Bread,

Bread, as a mark of his favour, upon the people: and having settled all Affairs began his Journey from *Rome*.

But whilst he staid at *Perinthus* (now call'd *Heraclea*) there was a Plot laid against him, which was thus: There was a certain Person in the Court call'd *Eros*, whose place it was to carry forth the Emperors Answers. This man the Emperor had threaren'd for some fault or other and put him in a fright; upon which account he dreading, lest the Emperour should make good his menaces by his actions, goes to certain of the Guard, whom he knew to be the boldest Fellows in all the Court, tells 'em a plausible Story, and shews 'em a Letter of his own Writing, just like the Emperours, (which he had learn'd to counterfeit long before) and persuading them first, that they themselves were to be murther'd (for that was the plain meaning and scope of the Letter) he endeavour'd to induce them to kill the Emperour. They therefore observing *Aurelianu*s to go out of the City without any great Attendance ran in upon him with their naked Swords and murther'd him. But he was buried there upon the place very magnificently by the Army in token of the great Services that he had done, and dangers
that

that he had undergone for the good of the Publick.

After him *Tacitus* got the Empire, in whose time the *Scythians* came over the Fenn of *Meotis* and made their incursions through *Pontus* even into *Cilicia*, till *Tacitus* set upon 'em; who partly in his own Person, and partly by *Florianus*, Prefect of the Court whom he left in Commission for that end, kill'd and quite routed 'em all; but went himself into *Europe*, where he was circumvented and kill'd after this manner. He had committed the Government of *Syria* to his Cousin, *Maximinus*, who treated the Nobility of the Countrey so roughly, that he made 'em envy and fear him both together. And that begot such an hatred in them, that they at last conspiring with them who had murther'd *Aurelianu*s, assaulted *Maximinus*, and having kill'd him, slew *Tacitus* also as he was just decamping.

Now therefore all things revolv'd into a civil Disturbance, whilst those of the East chose *Probus*, Emperor, and those at *Rome*, *Florianus*. Of whom the former was Governour of all *Syria*, *Phænicia*, *Palestine* and *Egypt*; but the latter had all the Countreys from *Cilicia* to *Italy*: besides that to him likewise all the Nations

ons beyond the *Alpes*, the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Britains*, and *Africans* in general, did homage.

Wherefore when they were both now ready for a War, *Florianus* came to *Tarsus* and resolv'd to pitch his Camp there, leaving his Victory against the *Scythians* at the *Bosphorus* unfinish'd, whereby he gave them an opportunity to recover themselves and return to their own homes, though he had block'd 'em up. But *Probus* protracted the time, because he came with less preparation for a War; by which means it came to pass, that the Weather (in Summer-time) being extream hot. *Florianus's* Soldiers, who were most of 'em *Europaeans*, and consequently not used to such excessive heat, died of a pestilent Distemper. Which when *Probus* understood, he thought it best to attaque the Enemy in time. Whereupon *Florianus's* men attempting somewhat beyond their strength, made certain light Skirmishes before the City, but seeing there was nothing done worth the speaking of, the Armies being divided, some of *Probus's* Soldiers came and deposed *Florianus*. Which when they had done, he was kept in custody for a time, till his own men said, that was not done by *Probus's* order; and so *Florianus* put on the Purple Robe

Robe again till they came back who were sent to know the truth of *Probus's* resolution in the matter; who upon their return caused *Florianus* to be slain by his own Soldiers.

When *Probus* had thus gotten the Empire he marched forward and did indeed a very commendable act for the publick good, as a prelude to what he afterward would do. For he resolv'd to punish those that had murther'd *Aurelian* and plotted against *Tacitus*; though he did not put his design openly in execution for fear of an insurrection, but planted a Company of men, that he had confidence in, at a convenient Post near which he invited the Murtherers to a Feast. Who when they came thither in expectation to be treated at the Emperors Table, *Probus* went up into a kind of *Gallery* [or *Balcony*] from whence he might see the action, and gave his men the signal when they should do thefeat. Which they no sooner receiv'd but they fell upon the Murtherers naked as they were, and kill'd 'em all but one, whom he afterward burnt alive, as being a very dangerous Fellow.

Whilst *Probus* did these things, *Saturninus*, a *Moor*, who was the Emperours most familiar friend, and, for that reason,

son, had the Government of *Syria* committed to him, revolted from his Allegiance to the Emperor, and turn'd Rebel. Which when *Probus* heard, he resolved to obviate his designs, but that the Eastern Soldiers prevented him by destroying *Saturninus* with all his treacherous machinations.

He likewise suppressed another insurrection in *Britain* by [the assistance of] *Victorinus*. a *Moor*, who had persuaded him to make that Rebel Governour of *Britain*. For having sent for *Victorinus* to him, and reproved him for his advice, he sent him to correct the miscarriage; who going forthwith into *Britain* took off the Traytor by a wile.

Probus therefore having managed things, according as I have related, obtain'd several Victories against the *Barbarians* also, in two several Wars; the one of which he himself was present in, but left the other to the conduct of his Lieutenant. But because he saw it necessary to assist the Cities of *Germany* that lay upon the *Rhine* and were infested by the *Barbarians*, he march'd with his Army toward the *Rhine*. Where when the War began, there was a grievous famine in all the Countrey thereabouts; but a mighty shower fell at the same time of Rain and

Corn

Corn together, insomuch that in some places there were great heaps of it made by its own descent. At which strange sight, all People were so much astonish'd, that at first they durst not touch the Corn to satisfie their hunger; but being at last forc'd to it by necessity, which is above all fear, they made Bread of it, which they ate; and thereby not onely satisfied their hunger, but got the Victory also with a great deal of ease, through the Emperors good success. He also put an end to many other Wars with little or no trouble; and fought sharp Battels, first against the *Logiones*, a *German* Nation, whom he conquer'd, and took *Semno* their General with his Son Prisoners, but pardon'd 'em upon submission; though he took all their Captives and their plunder from 'em, and so upon certain Terms dismissed not only common persons, but even *Semno* and his Son.

Another Battel that he fought was against the *Franks*, whom when he had bravely subdu'd by the good management of his Officers, He made War upon the *Burgundi*, and the *Vandili*. But seeing his Forces were too weak, he contriv'd how to single out and engage with some part onely of the Enemies forces. And indeed Fortune favour'd his design; for

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the Armies lying on both sides of the River, the *Romans* challeng'd the *Barbarians* that were on the further side, to fight. At which they were so incensed, that as many as could, got over; where they joyn'd Battel, and fought, till the *Barbarians* were partly slain, and partly taken alive by the *Romans*: except some few that were left who desired Peace upon condition to give up their Captives and their plunder; which they obtain'd. But because they did not restore all they had, the Emperor was therefore so angry, that he in justice fell upon 'em as they march'd away, and, killing many of them, took their General *Igillus* Prisoner. But as many of 'em as he took alive, he sent into *Britain*; where they inhabited the Island and were afterward very useful to the Emperor upon any Insurrection.

When he had in this manner perfected these Wars upon the *Rhine*, the *Isaurians* did something about that time which we ought not to omit. For there was one *Lydius*, an *Isaurian*, and a continual Robber from his Youth, who with a gang of Rogues like himself had pillaged all *Pamphilia* and *Lycia*. Now when the Soldiers came to take these Thieves, this same *Lydius* (because he could not oppose the whole *Roman Army*) went to a place

place called *Crymna*, in *Lycia*, which stands upon a Precipice and is fortified on the one side with mighty deep Ditches. Where finding a great many that fled thither for refuge, and observing the *Romans* to be very intent upon the Siege, in that they bore the fatigue of it very stoutly; he for that reason pull'd down the Houses, and making the ground fit for Tillage sow'd Corn in order to maintain tho're that were in the Town.

But seeing the number was so great that they wanted much more provisions, he turn'd all those out of the Town who were of no use, both male and female. But the Enemy perceiving his design forced 'em back again: whereupon *Lydius* took and threw 'em headlong into the Trenches that were about the Walls, where they died. Which having done he made a wonderful Mine from the Town outward beyond the Enemies Camp, through which he sent certain persons out of the Town, to steal Cattel and other forage. By which means he provided for the besieged a good while, till a Woman discover'd the matter to the Enemies. But for all that *Lydius* did not despond; only he retrench'd his men by degrees in their Wine and gave 'em a something less allowance of Corn. Yet this way would

not do neither, but he was driven to such necessity, that he kill'd all who were in the Town, except some friends of his that were enough (as he thought) to defend it; and those he spared, as likewise some Women whom he order'd to be in common among 'em all for the necessary use of Nature.

But when he had resolv'd to stand it out against all dangers, there happen'd at last this accident: There was a Man with him in the Town that knew how to make Engines and to use 'em also very dexterously in slinging of Darts so exactly, that when *Lydius* had bid him shoot at any one of the Enemies he would never miss his mark. Now it happen'd, that *Lydius* had bid him hit such a Person, whom he miss'd (either by chance or on purpose) for which he strip'd and whip'd him most severely, and threaten'd him with death besides. The man therefore was so enraged upon the account of the blows which he receiv'd, and so affrighted at the menaces, that he took an occasion to steal out of the Town: and falling into the company of certain Soldiers to whom he told whatever he had done or suffer'd, he shew'd 'em a Window in the Wall, through which *Lydius* used to spy all that was done in their Camp, and promised

mised them to shoot him as he, after his usual manner, was looking through it. Thereupon the Captain or chief Officer in that Expedition receiv'd the man into his favour; who when he had planted his Engine, and placed some men before him that he might not be discover'd by the Enemy, took aim at *Lydius* as he look'd through the hole [in the Wall] and with a Dart shot and gave him his mortal Wound. Which he no sooner receiv'd, but he was very severe upon some of his own men; whom when he had oblig'd upon Oath never to surrender the Town, he with much struggling expir'd.

But seeing that *Ptolemais*, which is in *Thebais*, was revolted from the Emperor, and had undertaken a War, though not likely long to endure; *Probus* forced both that and its Allies the *Blemmyæ* to a Surrender, by the good conduct of his then present Officers. He likewise left the *Basternæ*, a *Scythian* people, that submitted to him, in *Thrace*, where he gave them room to inhabit: upon which account they constantly observ'd the *Roman Laws* and *Customs*.

Another time when the *Franks* came to the Emperor and had a Countrey given 'em, some part of 'em afterward revolt-

ed, and having gotten a great number of Ships disturbed all *Greece*. From whence they went into *Sicily*, to *Syracuse*, which they attaqu'd and kill'd a great many men in it. At length they arrived in *Africa*, where though they were not entertein'd, but repelled by a body of men out of *Carthage*, yet they return'd home without any hurt or damage.

But then there was this one thing more that happen'd in *Probus's Reign*: There were eighty *Gladiators* who conspir'd together, and having kill'd their keepers, ran out into the City, and plunder'd all before 'em; not but that there were many other men too (as it is usual in such cases) mix'd among 'em. But the Emperor sent a party, and suppress'd 'em. Now when *Probus*, who was a brave, and a just Prince, had done thus, The end of this Book is wanting, but is supplied hereafter.

A New

A New HISTORY Written by Count ZOSIMUS, Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Second Book.



HE beginning of this Book is lost (for there is no mention here of Carus and his Sons) and therefore to supply that defect we must have recourse to other Authors, which afford us this short account.--- Carus succeeded Probus, and went against the Persians as far as Ctesiphon, where he gain'd the name of, The Persian Emperor. But soon after he was taken off, as some say,

The History Book II.

say, by a Disease; though others, by a Thunderbolt. He had two Sons, the one called Numerianus, a very hopeful Youth, of whom the Commonwealth might have expected all happiness and good imaginable, had he not been murther'd by Aper; the other named Carinus, an Adulterer, lecher, prodigal, and indeed a person utterly abandon'd to all kind of Vice, whom Diocletian, formerly calied Augustus, slew. So far by way of Supplement, and now ZOSIMUS begins abruptly, thus:

* * * * * Because the longest time that any man lives is onely equal to the intermediate space between these Games. For the Romans call that [Seculum] which we call [αἰών] [æcum] an Age, or the space of one hundred years. And it is good to cure the Plague, Consumption, or several other Diseases; of whose Original take this account. — *Valesus Valesius*, from the family of the *Valeriani* came, was a great man among the *Sabines*, and before his house there was a Grove of wast tall Trees, which were burnt with Lightning and gave him occasion to question what might be the portent of such an accident. Wherefore his Children falling sick he consulted not onely the Doctors but the Southsayers also; who told him, that by the manner of the fires falling,

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Book II. of Count ZOSIMUS.

the Gods were angry; which made *Valesius* wisely use that assistance in sacrificing to appease the Gods. And being in a fright, both he and his Wife, who expected every minute when their Children would die, he fell prostrate before *Vesta*, and promised to offer up two entire Souls instead of their Children, which was, his own and that of their Mother. But turning to the Grove that was Thunder-burnt, he seemed to hear a Voice, that bid him carry the Children to *Tarentum*, and there warm some *Tiber Water* over the fire of *Dis* and *Proserpine*, and give it the Children to drink. Which when he had heard quite out he then despaired the more of his Childrens recovery. For *Tarentum* was a great way off, and besides there was no *Tiber Water* to be had at it: and then it made him think the worse of it, that he heard the Voice say the Water must be warm'd upon the Altar of Infernal Deities, or *Demons*. At which the very Southsayers also themselves were startled; but however when he heard it the second time, he resolv'd to obey the Gods command. And putting his Children in a small River Vessel, he carry'd the fire along with him. Now the Children were almost ready to faint by reason of the heat, whilst he made

fail

fail to that part of the River, where the stream is most calm; and lodging at a Shepherds Cottage, together with his Children, he heard a Voice say, he must stay at *Tarentum* (for so the place was called, and had the same name with *Tarentum* which is near the *Japygian* Promontory, or *Capo di St. Maria.*) Whereupon *Valesius* when he had pay'd due Adoration to the Gods for that good fortune, he bad the Pilot put to shore, and landing told the Shepherds all the whole Story. And presently after having drawn some Water out of *Tiber* and warm'd it upon an Altar of his own making, he gave it his Children to drink: who as soon as they had swallow'd it fell asleep and were perfectly cur'd. But they fancy'd in that sleep that they saw something, which bad 'em offer black Victims to *Dis* and *Proserpine*, and spend three Nights in singing and dancing: which Dream they told to their Father, and that it was an huge man, of a Godlike presence; that bad 'em do it in the *Campus Martius*, where the Horse-Races use to be. But *Valesius* having a mind to build an Altar in that place, he set the Stone-cutters to dig, who found an Altar ready made, upon which there was this inscription, *To Dis and Proserpine*. By which he

he was more plainly instructed what to do, sacrificed the black Victims upon that Altar, and kept the Vigils in that place.

Now this same Altar and the manner of Sacrificing upon it was occasion'd thus: The *Romans* and the *Albanes* were at War, and, being both Arm'd, there appeared a monstrous Shape, clothed in a black skin, and crying out, That *Dis* and *Proserpine* commanded them to sacrifice to their Deities before they engaged: and when it had so said, it disappeared. Whereupon the *Romans*, who were affrighted at the sight, made an Altar under ground, and when they had sacrificed upon it, they buried it twenty feet deep, so that it might not be discover'd by any but *Romans*. Now *Valesius* having found it, he according to order both sacrificed upon it, and kept the Vigils; from whence he was called *Manius Valesius Tarentinus*. For the *Romans* call [the Infernal Gods,] *Manes* [and [to be in good health] is [Valere]]; and then he was called [Tarentinus] from [Tarentum,] where he sacrificed. But some time after when a Plague happen'd in the City, which was the year after their Kings were expell'd, *Pub. Valer. Poplicola* sacrificed a black Ox and a black Heifer to *Dis* and

and *Proserpine* whereby he freed the City from the Disease, and wrote upon the Altar this Inscription; --- *I Publius Valerius Poplicola have dedicated Fire to Dis and Proserpine in the Campus Martius, and have also made Shews in honour of them to preserve the people of Rome.*

But after this when Diseases and Wars lay heavy upon them, which happen'd in the year 352, since the City was built, the Senate had a mind to rid themselves of those Calamities out of the *Sibylls* Oracles, and therefore commanded them whose business it was, to consult those Oracles. Who having so done, they told the Senate, that if they sacrificed to *Dis* and *Proserpine*, it would put an end to all their miseries. They therefore got a convenient place, which they devoted to *Dis* and *Proserpine* according as they were commanded, when *Marcus Potitus* was in his fourth Consulship. And when the Ceremony was over, they, being deliver'd from their grievances, laid up the Altar again in some extream part of the *Campus Martius*. And after that this kind of Sacrificing was for some years neglect-ed, till some misfortunes befell them, and then *Octavianus Augustus* renew'd the Games, which had been celebrated before, when *Lucius Censorinus*, and *Marcus Manlius Puerilius*

elius were Consuls, but were kept at that time under the Consulate of *Lucius Censorinus* and *Caius Sabinus*, when *Ateius Capito* had explain'd the Laws concerning them, and the fifteen Men, that had the keeping of the *Sibylls* Books, had found out the time when the Sacrifice was to be perform'd and the Shews made. When *Augustus* was dead, *Claudius* celebrated those Games, without any regard to the due time. But after him, *Domitian*, who did not mind what *Claudius* had done, computed the years from the time that *Augustus* kept that Festival, and seemed to observe the original Institution. And after them *Severus*, in the 110th year, restored those very Games, he and his two Sons, *Antoninus* and *Geta*, when *Chilo* and *Libo* were Consuls. Now the manner of these Games is said to be this: --- The Beadles went about at that time and invited all the People to such a Sight as they never had seen, nor ever were like to see any more. And in the Summer-time, a little before the Games began, the fifteen Men sate in the *Capitol*, in the Temple *Palatine* upon a Tribunal, from whence they distributed a kind of purifying preparations to the People (called *Lustralia*) which were Torches, Brimstone, and Pitch: of which none participate but Freemen

Freemen onely. And when the People come together in the places aforesaid and in the Temple of *Diana*, which is upon the *Aventine Hill*, each one brings Whear Barly and Beans, and keep Vigils in the Night to the fatal Sisters. But when the time of the Festival is come, which they celebrate three days and three nights together in the *Campus Martius*, the Victims are consecrated near the bank of *Tiber* at *Tarentum*. And there they sacrifice to several Deities; as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*; and, besides them to the *Parcae*, *Lucinae*, *Ceres*, *Dis* and *Proserpine*, which is perform'd in this Order. The first night that these Shews are made, about two of the Clock, the Emperour, with the fifteen Men, sacrificeth three Lambs upon three Altars that are provided on purpose by the Rivers side, where having sprinkled the Altars with blood he offers up the Victims whole. Then, when they have prepared a Scene without a Theatre, they set up a great many lights and make an huge fire, by which they sing some new Hymn, to make the Games the more solemn. And those that perform'd these things have the first fruits of their Wheat, Barly and Beans for their labour. For those, I told you, are distributed among the people. The next day

day they go up into the Capitol, where they offer the usual Sacrifices, and thence coming to the place appointed for it, they celebrate Games in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. The day after that, the great Ladies come into the Capitol at the hour which the Oracle has prefix'd, where they behave themselves with all due reverence: and at the third hour in the Temple of *Apollo* near the Palace, twenty seven fine Boys with as many Girles, whose Parents are all alive, sing Hymns and speak in *Greek* and *Latin*, whereby the *Roman* Dominions are preserv'd. But besides these there were other things done according to the divine prescript; which as long as they were kept up, secur'd the *Roman* Empire. And to confirm you that it was really as I say, I will add the *Sibylls* Oracle, which others have mention'd before my time; and it runs thus:

*But when an hundred years and ten are past
Which is the longest time Mans Age doth
(last,) Romans! be sure (and see you don't mi-
(stake
In any point) due Offerings to make
To Heaven, and see you bring the Sacrifice
Into that Field which on the Tiber lies:
And*

The History Book II.

*And do so, in that Season, when the Nigh.
Deprives Men least of the Diurnal Light,
After Sun-set; Then to the Parcæ pay
Your homage; and upon their Altars lay
Young Sheep and Goats: Next the Lucinæ
(please,*

*With decent Rites, who childing Women ease.
After that offer a black Hog and Sow
To Tellus, for the product of the Plow.
But to Joves Altar bring the Bulls Milk-
(white*

*For Victims, in the Day-time, not by Night:
(For heavenly Deities accept of none.
But what are offer'd in the Day alone.)
And so to Juno sacrifice a Cow
Spotless all o'r, and pure as falling Snow,
Then let Apollo, whom they call the Sun,
And Phæbus, have his equal honours done.
Whilst in the Temple Latin Girls and Boys
In sacred Hymns make a Triumphant noise.
But let 'em be apart, the Girls to stand
And sing on this, the Boys on t'other hand:
Besides this caution I must farther give
That all the Parents of 'em be alive.*

*As for the married Women, let them pray
To Juno on their knees, that each one may
Have their desire, both Men and Women too
But chiefly Women. Then, Let all of you
Bring from your houses what is fit to bring,
(As the first-fruits of every useful Thing)
To the immortal Gods an Offering.*

And

Book II. of Count ZOSIMUS.

*And let all that upon your Altars lie,
Whence you may Men and Women both sup-
(ply.*

*But to attend the Gods be sure there be
Both night and day a numerous company
Of Votaries both serious and free.
Observe these precepts, and you shall sub-*

*(due
Not onely Latium but all Italy too,
Who shall submit their supple necks to
(you.*

Now that the Empire was secure and likely to continue Lords of almost all the known World, whilst these things were duly perform'd, according to what the Oracle directs and the thing it self requires: and on the other side, that when these Ceremonies were neglected, about the time that *Dioclesian* laid down his Imperial State, it fell to decay and insensibly degenerated most part into Barbarism, experience it self assures us. And that I say nothing but what is true I'll prove from Chronology. For from the Consulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, wherein *Sæverus* celebrated the Secular Games, or Ceremonies, it was an hundred and one years till *Dioclesian* was the ninth time, and *Maximianus* the eighth time Consul. And then *Dioclesian* from an Emperor turn'd a

private person, and *Maximianus* follow'd his Example. But when *Constantinus* and *Licinius* were in their third Consulship, the 110 years were compleated, and they ought to have kept the Festival according to custom; but it was neglect-ed, and so things consequently ran to that unhappy condition wherein they now are.

But *Diclesian* died in three years after, and the Emperors that were at that time, that is to say, *Constantinus* and *Maximianus Gallerius* declared *Severus* and *Maximinus* (who was *Gallerius*'s Sisters Son) to be the rightful *Cesars*, giving all *Italy* to *Severus* and the Eastern Provinces to *Maximinus*. But when things were all settled, and the *Barbarians* at quiet since the *Romans* had been so successful against 'em, *Constantinus*, who was begotten by *Constantius* of a Concubine, and had formerly an ambition to be Emperor, but was enflamed the more with that desire, since *Severus* and *Maximinus* had gotten the name and honour of *Cesars*, was now resolv'd to leave the place where he dwelt, and go to his Father *Constantius*, who was beyond the *Alps*, most commonly in *England*. But fearing, lest he might be taken by the way (for a great many knew very well, how much he was in love with

Domi-

Dominion) he maimed all the Horses that were kept for publick Service, as fast as he came to any Stable where they were, and took the next for his own use. And so he did continually; by which means he stopp'd those that pursu'd him from going farther, whilst he himself went on toward the Country where his Father was.

But it happen'd that the Emperor *Con-stantius* died just at that time, and there-fore the Guards, who thought none of his legitimate Children fit for the Imperial Dignity, as soon as they considered that *Constantinus* was a person capable of it, con-fered the honour upon him, in hopes of great Presents by way of remuneration. But when his Image was shewn at *Rome* as the custom is, *Maxentius*, the Son of *Maximianus Herculius* could not endure to see, that *Constantinus* should succeed so well, who was born of an Harlot, whereas he himself who was Son of such an Em-peror, lay at home and idle, whilst others enjoy'd his Fathers Empire, wherefore he made *Marcellianus* and *Marcellus*, two Tri-bunes of the Soldiers, and *Lucianus* (who distributed the Swines flesh, which the Treasury provided for the people of *Rome*) and the Court-Guards, called the *Præto-riani*, his Accomplices in the Attempt, and by them was promoted into the Im-

perial Throne, having promised to reward all those that assisted him in it, very liberally. Now the first thing, that they did in order to it, was the killing of *Abellius*, because he being Prefect of the City, seemed to resist their Enterprise.

When *Maximianus Gallerius* heard this, he sent *Severus Cesar* with an Army to fight *Maxentius*. But whilst he came from *Millain* with several Legions of *Moors*, *Maxentius* corrupted most of his Soldiers with Money, even to the Prefect of the Court, called *Anullinus*, and thereby conquer'd him with great facility. Upon which *Severus* fled to *Ravenna*, which is a very strong and populous City, furnish'd with provisions enough for him and his Soldiers. When *Maximianus Herculius* knew that, he was mightily concern'd for his Son *Maxentius*, no question, and therefore leaving *Lucania*, where he then was, he went for *Ravenna*. And seeing *Severus* could by no means be forced out of the City, because it was well fortified and stored with all necessary provisions, he cheated him with false Oaths and persuaded him to go to *Rome*. But as he was agoing, and came to a place, called the *Three Taverns*, he was taken by a Trick of *Maxentius*'s contriving and hang'd. But *Maximianus Gallerius* could not well bear those

those injuries done to *Severus*, and so resolv'd to come out of the East to *Rome*, and punish *Maxentius* according to his demerits. But when he was come into *Italy*, he found the Soldiers about him so false, that he went back into the East without fighting so much as one Battel.

At that time *Maximianus Herculius*, who could not endure the tumults which disturb'd the publick peace, came to *Dioclesian*, who lived then at *Carnutum*, a Town in *Gallia Celtica*; and endeavour'd to persuade him, that he would resume the Empire, and not suffer that Government, which they had preserv'd so long with so much difficulty, to be exposed to the madness and folly of those who had possess'd themselves of it, and made it shake already. But *Dioclesian* did not hearken to him; for he preferr'd his quiet before all business in the World (and perhaps he foresaw the trouble that would ensue, being a man much conversant in religious matters) and therefore *Herculius* seeing he could do no good upon him, came as far as *Ravenna* and so back to the *Alps*, to meet *Constantinus* who lay thereabout. And being naturally a busie, faithless man, he promised *Constantinus* his Daughter *Fausta* (which he perform'd) but withal persuaded him to pursue *Maxi-*

mianus Gallerius who was going out of *Italy*, and lay wait for *Maxentius*. To all which *Constantinus* consented, and then he left him, with a Design if possible to recover the Empire, because he hoped to set his Son-in-law *Constantinus* and his Son *Maxentius* together by the Ears.

But whilst he attempted these things, *Maximianus Gallerius*, made *Licinius*, his old acquaintance and friend, Emperor, by whose assistance he design'd to cope with *Maxentius*. But whilst *Gallerius* was consulting about these things, he died of an incurable Wound, and then *Licinnius* also claim'd the sole Dominion. But *Maximianus Herculius*, as I told you, endeavour'd to recover the Empire by alienating the Soldiers affections from *Maxentius*. In order whereunto he wheedled 'em with gifts and pitiful addresses, and having brought 'em over to him, he would have laid a Plot against *Constantinus*, in which his Soldiers should have conspir'd. But *Fausta* discover'd it to *Constantinus*; and so *Herculius*, who was now at his Wits end through so many disappointments, died of a Distemper at *Tarsus*.

Maxentius having escaped this Danger, and being now of Opinion that he had settled the Empire well enough, he sent certain Persons into *Africa*, to *Carthage* in

in particular, to carry his Image about that Country. But the Soldiers that were there, forbad it, out of their love to *Gallerius Maximianus*, and their honour to his memory, till they heard that *Maxentius* was coming to make War against 'em upon the score of that insurrection, and then they went to *Alexandria*: but meeting with a great Army which they were not able to deal with, they return'd to *Carthage*. Hereupon *Maxentius* being disturb'd, resolv'd to sail for *Africa*, and punish those that occasion'd such commotions. But when the Soothsayers had sacrificed and told him ill signs, he was afraid to go, not onely because the entrails appear'd in that manner, but also lest *Alexander*, who was the Prefect of the Court in *Africa*, should be his Enemy; and therefore to secure his passage thither from all suspicion, he sent to *Alexander* to desire him, that he would send him his Son for an Hostage. For *Alexander* had a Son of a good bigness, and very personable. But he suspecting that *Maxentius* did not desire his Son, to make an Hostage of him, but to deceive him, he deny'd his request. But after that, when *Maxentius* sent other Agents to him to take him off by Stratagems and Wiles, the Plot was discover'd; and then the

Soldiers having gotten a good opportunity to rebel, conferr'd the Purple Robe upon *Alexander*, though he were not onely a *Phrygian* born, but a fearful, cowardly man, and one that was unfit for any difficult undertaking, besides his being Old.

At that time there happen'd a fire at *Rome* (whether it came out of the Air, or the Earth, is uncertain) which caught in the Temple of *Fortune*; and whilst the People ran together to put it out, a certain Soldier that was there speaking blasphemy against the Goddess, the Commonalty kill'd him out of their zeal: which caus'd a mutiny among the Soldiers, who were like to have destroy'd the whole City, had not *Maxentius* soon appeas'd their fury.

After these things *Maxentius* sought all occasions to wage a War with *Constantinus*; and pretending grief for his Fathers death, which *Constantinus* was the cause of, he design'd to go toward *Rhetia*, which is near both to *Gallia* and *Illyricum* too. For he dream'd that he should subdue *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum* by the assistance of the Generals in those parts, and with the help of *Licinnius*'s Army. But though he had these Affairs in his thoughts, yet he conceiv'd it was better for him

to

to settle matters in *Africa* first. Whereupon having raised an Army of men, and made *Rufius Volusianus*, *Prefect of the Court*, their General, he sent 'em into *Africa*; but sent *Zena* also, along with *Rufius*, who was a Person not onely well skill'd in Military Affairs, but also cry'd up for an extraordinary affable, courteous man. And upon the first Onset *Alexander's* men gave way toward another body of Soldiers, to whom they and *Alexander* at last ran away together: nor did that other Party go off unconquer'd by the Enemy, or he himself either, for he was taken and strangled.

The War being thus ended, there was room enough for Sycophants or Informers to impeach (I had almost said) all the men of *Africa*, who were either of good Families or Estates, as friends of *Alexander*: nor were they any of 'em spared, but some of them were put to death, and others lost all they had. And after that he triumph'd at *Rome* for the mischief which was done at *Carthage*.— Now this was the state of *Maxentius*'s Affairs, who did what I have told you, behaving himself like a Lecher and a Tyrant to all the Inhabitants of *Italy* and even *Rome* it self.

In

In the mean time *Constantinus* who had suspected him long before, was then much more inclined to fight him; therefore when he had raised an Army out of the *Barbarians*, *Germans* and *Celtæ* whom he had conquer'd, and gotten some out of *England* too, to the number of 90000 foot and 8000 Horse in all, he march'd from the *Alps* into *Italy*, and those Towns that surrender'd, he pass'd without doing 'em any damage, but those that stood out he took by storm. But whilst he proceeded thus, *Maxentius* had muster'd up a far stronger Army; for he had eighty thousand *Romans* and *Italians*, all the *Tuscanes* upon the Sea-coast, and forty thousand men from *Carthage*, besides what the *Sicilians* sent him; insomuch that his whole Army consisted of 170000 foot and 18000 Horse.

When they were both so provided, *Maxentius* made a Bridg over the *Tiber*, which was not all of a piece from one side to the other but divided into two parts, so that in the middle of the River, that which fill'd up the middle of the Bridg was made to fasten with iron Buttons, as it were, which might be drawn back as oft as a man had a mind to disjoyn it. And he gave the Workmen Order, that as soon as ever they saw *Constantine's*

stantine's Army upon the juncture of the Bridg, that they should draw back the Buttons and dissolve the Bridg, so that the Enemy who stood upon it might fall into the River. And this *Maxentius* devised.

But *Constantinus* marching on with his Army to *Rome* he pitch'd his Camp in a field before the City, that is broad and therefore convenient for Horsemen. Whilst in the mean time *Maxentius* shut himself up within the Walls and sacrificed to the Gods, besides that he consulted the Sooth-sayers and the *Sibylline* Oracles too about the event of the War. And finding a Prediction, that said, Whoever Design'd any harm to the *Romans*, should die a miserable Death, he took it upon himself, because he kept out those that came against *Rome*, and would have fain taken it. And indeed it prov'd true. For when *Maxentius* brought forth his Army before *Rome*, and was going over the Bridg that himself had made, an infinite number of Owls flew down and cover'd the Wall. Which when *Constantinus* saw, he bad his men stand to their Arms. And as the two Armies stood one against the other, *Constantine* sent in his Horse upon that of the Enemy: who made such a brisk attaque that they routed 'em. And when the sign

sign was given to the Foot, they likewise march'd in good order toward the Enemy. And having engaged in a smart Battel; the *Romans* themselves and their Allies out of *Italy* were very loth to hazard themselves, because they wish'd to be deliver'd from that bitter Tyranny which they were then under: though the other Soldiers were slain in great numbers, being either trod to pieces by the Horse, or kill'd by the Foot. For, though as long as the Horse stood their ground, *Maxentius* had some hopes, yet when they gave way, he ran along with the rest over a Bridg into the City. But the Rafters being not strong enough to bear so great a weight, they broke, so that *Maxentius* and all the others were carry'd by the stream down the River.

When the news of this Victory came into the City, no man durst shew any joy for what was done, because some thought the report was false. But when *Maxentius*'s head was brought in upon a Spear, they turn'd their fear and dejection into all joy and pleasure. And upon this occasion *Constantinus* punish'd but very few and they were some of *Maxentius*'s best Friends; but he took off all the *Prætorian* Soldiers and demolish'd the Forts where they used to keep. At last when he had

setled

setled all things in the City, he went toward *Gallia Celtica*. But by the way he sent for *Licinnius* to *Millain* and gave him his Sister *Constantia* in marriage, whom he had promised him formerly, when he had a mind to make him joyn with him against *Maxentius*; And when that Solemnty was over, *Constantine* march'd on toward the *Celtæ*. Nor was it long before the Civil Wars broke out between *Licinnius* and *Maximianus*, who had a sharp engagement in *Illyricum*, wherein at first *Licinnius* seemed to have the worst of it; but presently afterward he rallied again, and put *Maximianus* to the run: Who travelling through the East into *Egypt*, in hopes to get men enough to renew the War, he died at *Tarsus*.

The Empire being thus devolv'd upon *Constantine* and *Licinnius*, they two in a little time fell out: not that *Licinnius* gave any occasion for it, but *Constantine*, as he used to do, shew'd himself unfaithful in what he had agreed to, by his endeavour to alienate some Nations that belong'd to *Licinnius*'s Dominions. And by that means they broke out into an open quarrel, and both prepared their Armies for a fight. *Licinnius* made his Rendezvous at *Cibalis*, which is a City of *Pannonia*, lying upon an Hill: to which the way

way is steep and narrow, and five furlongs in breadth. In which Road or Avenue there is a deep Fenn that lies very near the greatest part of it; and the rest of it is mountainous, wherein there is an hillock, upon which the City stands. But from thence there is a spacious Plain, which entertains the Eye with an infinite Prospect. Now upon this did *Licinius* encamp, and spread the body of his Army all along under the Hill, lest he should seem too weak for the Enemy, in the Wings. And *Constantine* in the mean time drew up his men near the Mountain, placing the Horse in the Front. For he thought that the best way, lest the Enemy should fall upon the Foot, who moved but slowly, and hinder their marching forward.—When he had so done, he presently made the attaque, gave the signal and went against the Enemies. And so the fight began, which was the fiercest (I had almost said) that ever was. For when each side had shot their Darts, they fought a long time with Spears and Javelins; and after they had fought from Morning to Night, the right Wing, which *Constantine* commanded, had the better on't. And thereupon the Enemy being put to flight, *Licinius*'s men, when they saw him mounted, and ready to run away,

way, durst not stay to eat their Suppers; but left their Cartel and all their other provisions behind: onely they took as much Victuals as would satisfie their hunger for one Night, and so march'd along with *Licinius* in all haste to *Sirmium*; which is a City of *Pannonia*, by which there runs a River on both sides of it, and discharges it self into the *Ister*. And as he passed this Town, he broke down the Bridg over the River, and so march'd on, with an intention to raiſe men in *Thrace*.

When *Constantinus* had taken *Cibalis*, and *Sirmium*, and all the other Towns that *Licinius* ran away from, he sent five thousand men in pursuit of him. But they being ignorant what way he took, could not overtake him. Yet *Constantinus* having re-built the Bridg over *Saus*, which *Licinius* had broken down, was with his Army almost at his heels. And when he was got over into *Thrace*, he arrived at the Plain where *Licinius* lay encamp'd. Where, the same Night that he came, he marshall'd his Army and gave Orders, that his Soldiers should be ready to fight as soon as it was Day. But when it was light, *Licinius*, seeing *Constantinus* with his Army, put his men also in array, having *Valens*, whom he stiled

stiled *Cesar* for his Ally, ever since he fled from *Cibalis*. And when the two Armies engaged, they first fought with Bows at a distance: but when their Arrows were spent, they fell on with Javelins and Ponyards. So that the fight continued very fierce for a good while, till those whom *Constantinus* had sent to pursue *Licinnius*, came down from a rising ground upon the Armies whilst they were at it. But they wheeled about an Hill, before they got to them, because they thought it best to joyn their own Party from the higher ground, and so begird the Enemy. But *Licinnius*'s men were aware of 'em, and fought it out bravely against 'em all; so that many thousands were slain on both sides, and the Battel was equal, till the sign was given for 'em both to draw off.

The next Day they made a Truce, and thought fit to enter into League and Alliance one with the other; upon Condition, that *Constantinus* should have the Government of *Illyricum*, and all the Nations beyond it, and *Licinnius* should have *Thrace*, the East, and all beyond that: but that *Valens*, whom *Licinnius* had made *Cesar*, should be put to Death, because (I suppose) he was said to be the author of all the mischief which had happen'd.

happen'd. Which when they had done, and taken Oaths on both sides to observe those Conditions, to make the Obligation of keeping their promises the stronger, *Constantinus* made *Crispus* (his Son by a Concubine called *Minervina*) who was yet but a Youth; and also *Constantinus*, who was born but a few days before at *Arelatum, Cæsars*. And at the same time *Licinnianus*, Son to *Licinnius*, who was twenty years of Age, was declared *Cæsar*. And this was the end of the second War.

But when *Constantinus* heard, that the *Sauromatæ*, who lived upon the Fenn, *Meotis*, had pass'd the *Isther* in Boats, and pillaged his Territories, he led his Army against 'em. And the *Barbarians* on the other hand met him, with their King *Rau-simodus*; and first the *Sauromatæ* attaqued a Town, which had a sufficient Garison in it, but the Wall of it was built partly of stone (from the ground upward) and partly (toward the top) of Wood. Wherefore the *Sauromatæ* thought they might easily take the Town, if they burnt all the wooden part of the Wall; and to that end put fire to it, whilst, in the mean time, they shot at those that stood upon the Walls. But they that were upon the Walls threw Darts and stones down upon

the *Barbarians* and kill'd 'em ; so that when *Constantinus* came, and fell upon 'em from an higher ground, he slew many of 'em, took more alive, and put the rest to flight. Upon which occasion *Rausimodus* having lost most part of his Army, took shipping and cross'd the *Ister*, with an intention once more to plunder the *Roman Dominions*. Which when *Constantinus* heard of, he follow'd him over the *Ister*, and set upon 'em in a thick Wood upon an Hill to which they were fled, where he kill'd many of 'em, among whom *Rausimodus* was one. But he also took many alive, and gave quarter to the rest that were willing to comply ; so that he return'd to the Head-quarters with a great number of Captives.

But he distributed them into the several Cities, and then came to *Theffalonica*, where having made a Port or Harbour (for there never was one in that place before) he made new preparations for a War against *Licinnius*. In order whereunto he fitted out two hundred Ships or Galleys of War with thirty Oars apiece, besides above two thousand Ships of burthen, rais'd one hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and of Horsemen and Seamen ten thousand. *Licinnius* hearing that *Constantinus* was so well prepar'd, sent Messengers

sengers into all Nations, to command 'em to prepare a sufficient number of men for the Navy, besides their Horse and Foot. And thereupon the *Egyptians* immediately sent out eighty Galleys ; the *Phœnicians*, as many more ; and the *Jonians* and *Dorians* of *Asia*, sixty : the *Cyprians*, thirty, the *Carians*, twenty, the *Bythinians*, thirty, and the *Africans*, fifty. And of Foot Soldiers he had near 150000. but of Horse onely 15000. which were sent him out of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*. Now *Constantine's* Ships lay at *Piræus*, and *Licinnius's* in the *Hellespont*. And when they had both thus settled the Affairs of their Sea and their Land Forces, *Licinnius* was encamp'd at *Adrianople* in *Thrace*; whilst *Constantinus* sent for his Navy from *Piræus*, which was built and man'd, for the most part, out of *Greece*. And marching with his Foot Army from *Theffalonica*, he encamped upon the bank of the River *Hebrus*, which runs by *Adrianople* on the left hand. And at the same time *Licinnius* set his men in Battalia from a Mountain which is above the Town the length of two hundred furlongs, even to that place where another River joyns with the *Hebrus*, and so the Armies continued one against another for many days. But *Constantinus* observing where the River was

narrowest; he found out this contrivance. He order'd his Soldiers to bring Trees from the Mountain, and tie Ropes about 'em, as if he design'd to make a Bridg upon the River, whereby to get over his Army. With which invention he outwitted his Enemies, and going up into an Hill, where there were thick Woods, enough to hide any body that was in 'em, he planted there of foot Bowmen five thousand, and eight hundred Horse. And having so done, he took twelve Horsemen, and with them marching over the *Hebrus* in the narrow place, where it is most fordable, he surprised the Enemy; insomuch that some were kill'd and many fled as fast as they could, whilst others who were amazed at his unexpected approach, stood gaping with Wonder, how he should come so suddenly over. But in the mean time whilst the Horse, and the rest of the Army pass'd the River for security, there was a great slaughter among 'em. For there fell near thirty four thousand men; and about Sunset Constantine took their Camp, whilst *Licinius* with all his Forces that he could muster up, hasten'd through *Thrace* to his Navy.

As soon as it was Day, all *Licinius*'s Army, or as many of 'em, as had fled into the Mountain, or the Valleys thereabout,

bout, surrendered themselves to *Constantinus*, together with those that *Licinius*, for haste, had left behind him. But when *Licinius* was got to *Bizantium*, *Constantinus* follow'd him, and besieged the City, when his Navy was now come from *Piræus* (as I told you) and lay in *Macedonia*. Wherefore he sent to his Admirals, and order'd that the Ships should sail into the *Hellespont*. And when they came, according to his command, *Constantinus*'s Sea Officers thought fit to engage with not above eighty of their best Sailers (which were Galleys of thirty Oars apiece) because the place was too narrow to receive a greater number. But *Abantus*, who was *Licinius*'s Admiral, set out with two hundred Ships, and despised the smallness of his Enemies number, whom he thought he could easily surround. But when the Signals were given on both sides, and they came stem to stem; *Constantinus*'s Seamen did manage their Ships so as to engage in very good order. But *Abantus* sailing without any method against the Enemy, his Ships being in such a straight place fell foul upon one another, and were exposed in some measure to the Enemy, partly to be drown'd and partly to be otherwise destroy'd. In

sine, a great many men were thrown over-board, till night came and put an end to the fight. So the one Navy put in at *Eleus* in *Thrace*, and the other at the *Aeantian* Harbour. And the next Day whilst the Wind blew hard at North, *Abantus* put forth from the *Aeantian* Port and made ready for a Sea-fight. But because those Galleys of fifty Oars apiece, which lay in the mouth of the *Hellespont*, were come to *Eleus* by Order of the Admirals, *Abantus* was affrighted at the number of Ships and flood debating, whether he should set Sail against the Enemy or no. But about Noon the North-Wind was al-lay'd, and the South-Wind blew so violently, that when *Licinius*'s Navy lay upon the *Asian* Coast, it ran some on ground, bilg'd some against the Rocks, and sunk others, men and all: so that five thousand men were lost, besides one hundred and thirty Ships full of men, which *Licinius* had sent out of *Thrace* into *Asia* with part of his Army, because *Bizantium* was too little to contain all those who were besieged with *Licinius*. But when *Licinius* was fled into *Asia* with four Ships and the Sea-fight was thus at an end: as also, that the Ships were come into the *Hellespont*, and had brought all
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sorts of Commodities, and great store of provisions to *Constantine's* Officers, they weigh'd Anchor with the whole Navy, to go and join with those that besieged *Bizantium*, and inclose the City even by Sea also. But *Licinius*'s Foot were not able to endure so much as the very sight of such a Navy, and therefore got 'em Ships and sailed away for *Eleus*.

In the mean time *Constantine* continu'd close at the Siege, and made a Mound as high as the Wall (upon which he planted Wooden Towers, higher than the Wall, from which his Soldiers shot those who defended the Wall) that he might with more security bring Rams and other Engines of War near to it, and by that means he thought sure enough to take the City. At which *Licinius* being start-led and not knowing what to think, he resolv'd to leave *Bizantium* and the weaker part of his Army in it, and onely take a-long with him such men as were fit for service, and had given him demonstrati-ons of their love to him, and so make what haste he could into *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. For he believ'd he might raise an Army in *Asia* and try another Engagement with his Enemies. Where-tore arriving at *Chalcedon*, and having made *Martinianus* who was Captain of

the Court-Guards (whom the *Romans* call *Magister Officiorum*) his Accomplice and Partner in the dangerous Enterprise, he declared him *Cæsar* and sent him with an Army to *Lampsacus*, to hinder the Enemies passage from *Ithrace* into *Hellespont*, whilst he himself posted his own men upon the Hills, and Avenues about *Chalcedon*.

And whilst *Licinius* was intent upon these matters, *Constantine* who had a great number of Ships for burthen as well as War, and had a mind with them to cross over and possess himself of the other shore, fearing lest the *Bithynian* Coast might be inaccessible to Ships of burthen especially, he immediatey built Skiffs and other Boats, and with them he sailed to the holy *Promontory*, as they call it, which lies upon the mouth of *Pontus*, two hundred furlongs from *Chalcedon*. And there he landed his Army; which when he had done, he went upon certain Hills hard by to set 'em in Array. At which time *Licinius*, though he saw that *Bithynia* was already in the Enemies hands, yet was a man so harden'd by Danger that he sent for *Martinianus* from *Lampsacus*, and to encourage his men to fight, told 'em he himself would lead 'em. And when he had said what he thought necessary to 'em,

'em, he drew 'em into Battalia, and marching out of the City he met the Enemy who were ready for him. And after a sharpe Engagement between *Chalcedon* and the *Holy Promontory*, *Constantine's* side had much the better on't; for they fell upon the Enemy with such vigour and made such a slaughter of 'em, that of an hundred and thirty thousand men, scarce thirty thousand escaped. Which when the *Bizantines* heard of, immediately they threw open their Gates to receive *Constantinus*, as the *Chalcedonians* also did. But *Licinius* having receiv'd this Overthrow went for *Nicomedia* with what Horse he had left him, and some few Thousands of Foot.

Just at this time a certain *Perſian* called *Hormidas*, of the Royal Family, came over to *Constantine* for refuge upon this account. — His Father had been King of *Perſia*, and on a time was celebrating his own Birth-day after the *Perſian* way, when *Hormidas* came into the Palace and brought with him a great deal of Venison. But the Guests that were at the Feast not rising up and paying him the respect and honour due to him, he was very angry and told 'em, he would punish 'em with *Marsyas's* Death. Which saying a great many of 'em did not understand,

derstand, because it related to a Forein Story : but onely one *Persian* among 'em, who had lived in *Phrygia*, and heard the story of *Marsyas*, explain'd the meaning of *Hormisdas's* Menace to 'em, as they sat at Table. Wherefore they laid up *Hormisdas's* Menace in their memories, and when his Father happened to die, they remember'd what he had threaten'd, and so chose his younger Brother King, though the elder shoulde have had the preference according to Law above all the Kings Children : Nor only that ; but they shackled *Hormisdas* and kept him upon a certain Hill which lies before the City. But when some time had pass'd, his Wife contrived his escape in this manner. She got a great Fish, and put a File into his belly, and then solv'g him up again deliver'd it to the most faithful Eunuch that she had, with a strict charge to tell *Hormisdas*, he must eat that Fish when no body was by, and use that which he found in his belly in order to his escape. And when she had thus contrived it, she sent out several Camels loaden with Wine, and a deal of Provision, to entertain her Husbands Keepers. And whilst the Kecpers were merry at the Feast which she made for 'em ; *Hormisdas* cut up the Fish and found the File; with which when he had

had cut off the shackles that were upon his Legs, he put on the Eunuchs Robe and went away through the middle of the Keepers, who were by that time Drunk ; and taking one of the Eunuchs along with him he fled to the King of *Armenia* who was his Friend and Host. And by this means he got away safe to *Constantine*, who thought fit to shew him all the respect and kindness imaginable. And so much for that.

But when *Constantinus* besieged *Licinius* at *Nicomedia* also, he knew not what to do, because he was sensible he had not an Army fit to fight, and therefore going out of the City, he submitted himself to *Constantine* and brought him the Purple Robe, proclaimed him Emperor and Lord, and ask'd pardon for what was past. For he presumed he shoulde certainly escape with life, because *Constantinus* had sworn to his Wife that he should. But *Constantinus* deliver'd *Martinianus* to the Guards for them to kill, and sent *Licinius* into *Theffalonica*, as if he were to live there in security ; but not long after he broke his Oath (which * was an usual thing with *Constantine*) and caus'd him to be hang'd.

* — If all be true that others say of *Constantine*, then *Zosimus* has no reason to fix the Crime of Perjury upon him ; because he did not seem so much to break an Oath and Promise, as to

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to punish the breach of it in *Licinius*, who after so many Victories gain'd by *Constantine*, when he was in a desperate low Condition, let slip no occasion to recover that Empire which he was deprived of by the just sentence of Victory, but contrived all ways he could to make ill returns for *Egeretes* kindness, as *Euseb.* says in his life of *Constantine*, l. 1. c. 43. & *Theodor.* l. 1. c. 7. To which you may add this also, that *Licinius* hated Christians, as much as *Constantine* loved 'em, and consequently could not endure to see them expos'd to injuries whom he favour'd. Nor let any one Object, that these Authors are not to be credited, because they were partial; because *Zosimus* himself cannot be excus'd in that Point, as being a sworn Enemy to Christianity, and a great bigot in the Heathenish Religion.

But when the whole Empire was solely in *Constantine's* hands, he no longer concealed his ill Nature, and vicious inclinations, but did what he pleas'd without controul. But he used indeed his former

Country way of Worship, though not * out of honour or veneration so much as necessity. And therefore he believed the Soothsay-
ers, who were expert in their Art, as men that had told him truth concerning all the great

Actions that ever he did. But when he came to *Rome*, he was full of Pride and Arrogance, but thought fit to begin his impious pranks first at home. For he kill'd his Son *Crispus*, stiled (as I told you) *Cæsar*, upon suspicion that he lay with

with his Mother-in law *Fausta*, without any consideration of natural Duty. And when his Mother *Helena* express'd much sorrow for what he had done, lamenting most bitterly the young mans Death, *Constantinus*, under pretence of comforting her, made the Remedy worse than the Disease. For having caused a Bath to be heated more than ordinary, and shut *Fausta* up in it, he in a while after took her out dead. Of which being conscious to himself, as also of breaking his Oath, he went to the Priests to be purg'd from his Crimes. But they told him there was no manner of Lustration or Purgation that was sufficient to clear him from such enormities; and then a *Spaniard*, called *Ægyptius*, who was there at *Rome*, very familiar with the Court Ladies, coming to discourse with *Constantine*, assur'd him, that the Christian Doctrine would teach him how to cleanse himself from all his offences; and would promise him, that all wicked men who receiv'd it, were immediately absolv'd from all their sins. Which *Constantine* had no sooner heard, but he easily believ'd what was told him, and leaving his own Country Ceremonies, receiv'd those that *Ægyptius* offer'd to him, and for the first instance of his Impiety he suspected the truth of

of Divination. For since a great many fortunate Chances were thereby foretold him, and really came to pass according to the Prediction, he was afraid, lest that others might be told one thing or other that should fall out unluckily to him; and for that reason apply'd himself toward the abolishing of all such things. And upon an usual Feast-day when the Army was to go up into the Capitol, he reproach'd that Solemnity of their going up very impudently; and treading the holy Ceremonies, as it were, under his feet, incur'd the hatred of the Senate and People.

But being unable to endure the Curses of almost all the City, he look'd out for another City as big as *Rome*, where he might build himself a Palace; and therefore when he was between *Troas* and old *Ilium*, he found a place convenient to build a City in, where he laid a foundation, and made some part of a Wall to a pretty height, which is to be seen to this Day by those that sail toward the *Hellespont*. But afterward thinking better of it, he left that Work unfinish'd and went to *Byzantium*; where he admired the situation of the place, and therefore resolv'd when he had enlarged it exceedingly, to make it a fit Seat for an Emperor to live

live in. For the City lies upon a rising ground, which is part of that *Isthmus*, which *Ceras* and *Propontis*, two arms of the Sea on each side inclose. And it formerly had a Gate just at the end of the *Porticos* which *Severus* the Emperor built after he was reconciled to the *Byzantines*, who had provoked his anger by admitting his Enemy *Niger* into their City. At which time also the Wall went down from the West side of the Hill as far as *Venus's* Temple, even to the Sea side, which is opposite to *Chrysopolis*. And so, on the North side of the Hill it went down after the same manner to the Port, which they call the *Dock*, and farther even to the Sea-side, which lies directly against the passage that carries you into the *Euxine* Sea. And this narrow neck of Land between that and *Pontus* is near three hundred furlongs in length. And this was the bigness of the old City. But *Constantinus* built a round Market-place where the old Gate was, and encompassed it with *double-roofed Porticoes*, making two great Arches of *Præconesian* Marble one against another, through which there was a passage into *Severus's* Porticoes, and out of the old City. But having a mind to make the City a great deal larger, he made a Wall about it that was fifteen

fifteen furlongs beyond the old one, and took in all the *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea. And when he had made the City in this manner much larger than before, he built a Palace not much inferiour to that of *Rome*: and made likewise the *Hippodrome* (where the Horses ran) very fine: taking the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* into it, whose Statues are now to be seen standing in the Porticoes of the *Hippodrome*, or Horse-Race. Besides which he likewise placed the *Tripos*, that belong'd to *Apollo* of *Delphi*, in one part of the *Hippodrome*, which had on it the Image of *Apollo* himself. And because there was a very great Market-place at *Bizantium* consisting of four Porticoes, at the end of one of them, to which there are a great many steps going up , he built two Temples, and in the one of 'em he put the Statue of the Mother of the Gods, called *Rhea*, which *Jason's* Mates had formerly set up in Mount *Dindymus*, which lies about the City of *Cyzicum*. But they say, that through his neglect of Religion he had impair'd it, by taking away the Lions on both sides, and changing the figure of the Hands. For whereas it formerly seemed to have a Lion in each hand, it was now alter'd into a praying posture, looking upon the City and observing,

serving as it were, what men did: In the other Temple he set up the Statue of *Romes* Fortune. And after that he built convenient Houses for certain Senators that follow'd him from *Rome*. But he engaged in no more War, insomuch that when the *Thaifalians*, which are a *Scythian* Nation, came upon him with five hundred Horse, he did not onely not lead forth his Army against 'em, but when he had lost the greater part of his Soldiers, and saw the Enemies plunder all before 'em even to their Trenches, he was glad to save himself by flight.

But when he was deliver'd from the distractions of War he gave himself to voluptuousness, but distributed a Dole of Corn among the people of *Bizantium*, which is continu'd even to this Day. And as he laid out the publick Treasure upon unnecessary and unprofitable Structures, so he built some , that in a short time were pull'd down again, because they were erected in haste and consequently not like to last long. He also made a great bustle and changed the ancient Magistracy. For whereas before that time there had been two Prefects of the Court, whose power was equal,not only the Court-Soldiers were under their care and conduct, but those also who had the charge

of the City with them that lay in the out-parts. For he that had the Office of Court-Prefect, which was esteemed the greatest place of Honour next being Emperor; gave out the Doles of Corn, and corrected all Offences in point of military Discipline with what convenient Penalties he thought good.

But *Constantine* alter'd that good Constitution, and out of one Office, or Magistracy he made four of it. For to one of those Prefects he committed all *Egypt* and *Pentapolis* in *Libya*, besides all the East as far as *Mesopotamia*, with *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, and all the Sea-coast from *Pamphilia* to *Trapezus* and the Castles near *Pbasis*: and to the same person was given all *Thrace* and *Mysia* which reaches as far as *Hemus*, *Rodope*, and the Town of *Doberus*. He likewise added *Cyprus*, and the *Cyclades* (Islands) onely *Lemnos*, and *Imbrus*, and *Samothrace* were excepted. — To another he gave *Macedonia*, *Theffaly*, *Crete* and *Greece* with the Islands thercabout, both *Epiruses*, the *Illyrians*, the *Dacians*, the *Triballi* and the *Pannonians* as far as *Valeria*, besides the upper *Mysia*. — To the third Prefect he gave all *Italy*, and *Sicily* with the adjacent Isles, besides *Sardinia* and *Corsica* together with all *Africa* from the *Syrtes* or

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Quick-sands as far as *Cyrene*. To the fourth he committed the *Celtæ*, who lived beyond the *Alps*, as also the *Spaniards* and the British Island which is *England*. And * having thus divided the Power of those Prefects, he studied other ways also to lessen their Authority. For whereas there used to be in all places Centurions, Tribunes, and Generals, he made certain Officers called *Magistri Militum*, one over the Horse, and another over the Foot, to whom he gave Authority to Discipline the Soldiers, and punish those that offended, whereby the power of the Prefects was in some measure diminish'd.

Now that this was a great damage to the publick Affairs both in Peace and War, I'll prove immediately. For whilst the Prefects gather'd the Tributes in all places by their Ministers and laid them out in Warlike expences, having the Soldiers also in subjection, who suffer'd for offences according to their di-

* *Zosimus* throws the envy of that insensible decay by which the Roman Empire fell to ruin upon *Constantine*; but indeed he ought to have been more cautious in what he said; if he would but have consider'd with himself how apt men are, who have gain'd the greatest place next to their Sovereign, to endeavour all they can to engage the Soldiers affections, and out of hopes to be Emperors themselves to put all things out of order. And indeed where the care of both the Military Discipline, and distributing the publick money is committed to one single person, 'tis odds, but he one time or other takes an occasion to possess himself of the Empire, because he has every thing in his power that the fear of punishment or hopes of reward will induce the Soldiers to do. Wherefore *Constantine* fortified himself with that political saying, *Divide and Rule*.

scretion, it's very probable the Soldiers who consider'd that the same person who gave 'em their pay, inflicted their punishment too whenever they offended, durst not do contrary to their Duty, out of fear, partly, lest their allowance should be taken off, and partly of present correction. But now since one is Paymaster, and another to look after the Discipline, they do what they please; not to say, that the greatest part of the Corn or other provisions goes into the General's or his Servants Pockets.

But besides this *Constantine* did another thing too, that gave the *Barbarians* a free passage into the *Roman* Dominions. For whereas the *Roman* Empire, by the care of *Diocletian* was fortified (as I told you) in the most remote parts of it with Towns and Castles and Forts, where the Soldiers lived, and consequently it was impossible for the *Barbarians* to pass, because there was always a sufficient number of Enemies to withstand 'em; *Constantine* destroy'd that Security, by removing the greater part of the Soldiers out of those Frontier Places, and putting them in Towns that wanted no assistance. For he strip'd them whom the *Barbarians* oppressed of all defence, and plagu'd the Towns that were quiet with a multitude of Soldiers,

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insomuch that some were quite forsaken of their Inhabitants. He likewise caused his Soldiers to grow effeminate by giving themselves to publick Shows and Pleasures. And to tell you plainly, he was the first cause, why things were brought into that miserable state they now are in.

But I must not omit to tell you, that when he had given his Son *Constantinus*, as likewise his other two Sons, *Constans* and *Constans* the Title of *Cæsars*, he increased the City of *Constantinople*, to such a vast bigness, that many of the Emperors that have come after him, and lived in it, have drawn more men thither than are necessary, who flock to it from all parts, either as Soldiers, or Merchants, or something else. Upon which account they have made the Walls about it more capacious than those that *Constantine* built, and have permitted the buildings to be so contiguous, that the Inhabitants whether at home or in the streets are strengthen'd for room, and walk in danger by reason of the multitude of men and beasts. Besides, a great deal of the Sea is turn'd into dry Land, where Piles are driven into the ground, and Houses built upon 'em, enough to make a good big City of themselves.

And truly I have often wondered, since the City of *Byzantium* is grown so great, that no other can compare with it either in happiness or bigness, why our Fathers had no prophetic concerning its good Fortune. And having employ'd my thoughts a long time about it, turn'd over a great many Historians and collections of Oracles, and spent some time in the explanation of them. I at last with much ado light upon an Oracle, which is attributed to *Sibylla Erythræa*, or *Phællo* of *Epirus* (for they say that she being inspired gave out some Oracles, upon which *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Prusias* relying and interpreting to his own advantage, he by the advice of *Attalus*, made War against his Father *Prusias*) and it is this :

Then ameng Sheep; Oh ! King of Thrace,
(shalt dwell,
But breed a savage Lion, fierce and fell,
Who all the product of thy Land shall spoil,
And reap thy fruitful harvest without toil.
But thou shalt not enjoy thy Honour long,
Torn by wild Dogs, which shall about thee
(throng.
Then a mad, hungry, sleeping Wolf shalt
(thou
Awake, to whom thy conquer'd neck shall
(bow.
Next

Next a whole herd of Wolves Bythinias
(Land
Shall vex by Joves permission, and that
(hand
To whom the Byzantines Obedience yield
Shall in short time her royal Scepter weild.
Bless'd Hellespont ! whose buildings by the
(hand
Of Heaven were rais'd, and by their order
(stand.
Yet shall that cruel Wolf my forces fear,
For all Wights know me, who inhabit here.
My Sires mind I no longer will reveal
But Heavens intent in Oracles reveal.
Thrace shall e're long a monstrous birth pro-
(duce,
Baneful to all by tract of time and use :
And a swoln Ulcer by the Sea shall grow,
Which when it breaks, with putrid gore
(shall flow.

Now this same Oracle does, though obscurely, point out (I had almost said) all the particular mischiefs which were to befall *Bythinia* through the heavy Impositions that were laid upon 'em : as also how the Government was to be devolved upon them to whom the *Byzantines* were then in subjection, in that Distich

— and

— and the Hand
*To whom the Byzantines Obedience yield
 Shall in short time her Royal Scepter weild.*

And though the things foretold did not fall out till many Ages after; let not any man for all that suppose that it was spoken of any other place. For all time is short in respect of God, who always is and always will be. And this is my conjecture both from the words of the Prophecie, and the event also. But if any one believes there is any other meaning in it, let him enjoy his own thoughts.

When *Constantine* had done thus, he not onely perpetually wasted the Revenue of the Empire in unnecessary Expences, and Presents, which were bestow'd upon unworthy and vile Persons: but he likewise oppressed those that paid the Tribute, and enrich'd those that were of no use or service in the Government. For

* he mistook Prodigality for Magnificence.

* We must confess that *Constantine* was extravagant in his Expences; from whence arose that Jeer of *Julian* in his Book called *Cesares*, where he brings in *Constantine* as if he were ask'd by *Mercy*— And what do you think is a commendable thing? That a Man, says *Constantine*, who has a great deal should give a great deal away.

He also laid a Tax of Gold and Silver upon all Merchants, and Tradesmen even to the

the meanest of all: * nor did he spare so much as the poorest Whore. Insomuch that upon the return of every fourth year, when the Tax was to be paid, a man could hear nothing but lamentation and complaints through all the whole City. And when the time came, there was nothing but Whips and Torments provided for them who by reason of their extream poverty could not pay the money. Nay, Mothers were fain to part with their Children, and Fathers to prostitute their Daughters, for money to satisfie the Collectors of this Gold and Silver exactation. And because he had a mind to invent some plague for the richer sort of People, he call'd 'em all forth and made 'em Praetors, for which Dignity he demanded of 'em a vast sum of money. For which reason, when they whose business it was to manage this Affair came into any of the Cities, you might see the People run all away into other Countreys, for fear of gaining that honour with the loss of all they had. Now he had a Particular of all the best Estates, and so imposed a Tribute upon each one of 'em, which he call'd

* See *Eusebius l. 3. Hist. Eccl. c. 39.* where he mighty commands *Anastasius*, in whose Reigne this Tax was taken off. But he inveighs against *Zosimus*, for saying that *Constantine* was the Author of it, in these words:—Who would wonder that this should be done in the very infancy of Christianity, when his Holiness the Pope suffers the very same things even now it is grown to riper years?

led, a Purse. And with such Exactions he exhausted all the Towns: for they endur'd so long even after *Constantine's* time, that the Money was all drain'd clear out of the Cities and many of 'em forsaken by the Inhabitants.

When *Constantine* had oppress'd and plagued the Government all these several ways, he died of a Distemper, and his Sons succeeded him who were three of 'em (not begotten of *Fausta* the Daughter of *Hercilius Maximianus*, but of another Woman, whom he had put to Death for Adultery) but they devoted themselves to the pleasures of Youth more than to publick Service. For in the first place they divide the Nations among 'em, of which *Constantine* the eldest and *Constans* the youngest had all beyond the *Alps* together with *Italy* and *Illyricum*, for their share: as also all the Countreys upon the *Euxine* Sea, and whatever belong'd to *Carthage* in *Africa*: whereas *Constantius* had all *Asia*, the East and *Egypt*. But there were also others that were a kind of Partners in the Government, as *Dalmatius*, whom *Constantine* made *Cæsar*, *Constantius* his Brother and *Anaballianus*, who all wore a Purple Robe with golden Guards, and were promoted to the Order of *Nobilissimate* (as they call it) or Nobility

bility by *Constantine* himself, out of respect to their being of his Family.

But when the Empire was thus divided, *Constantius* who seemed to take pains not to fall short of his Fathers impiety, began at home to prove himself a Man by spilling the blood of his nearest Relations. And first he caused *Constantius* his Fathers Brother to be murther'd by the Soldiers: next to whom he served *Dalmatius Cæsar* in the same kind; as also *Optatus*, whom *Constantine* had raised to the honour of being a Patrician. For *Constantine* indeed first introduced that Order of Men and made a Law, that whoever was a Patrician should sit above the very Prefects of the Court. At that time also was *Ablabius* the Court-Prefect put to death; and fate was just in his punishment, because he contrived how to murther *Sopatrus* the Philosopher, out of envy that he was so familiar with *Constantine*. But as he was unnatural to all his Relations, so likewise he put *Anaballianus* among the rest, suborning the Soldiers to cry out, that they would have no other Gouvernours but *Constantine's* Children onely. And these were *Constantius's* exploits.

In the mean time *Constantine* and *Constans* had a dispute concerning that part of *Africa* that belong'd to *Carthage*, and *Italy*. And *Constans* who had a mind to surprise his Brother, concealed his ill will for three years together, till on a certain time when he was got into a Province that loved him, he sent Soldiers to him, upon pretence to assist him in the War against the *Persians*, but in reality to assassinate him before he was aware: which accordingly they did, and so kill'd *Constantine*.

When *Constans* had thus removed his Brother out of his way, he exercised all manner of cruelty towards his Subjects, exceeding the most intolerable Tyranny. For he bought some well-favour'd *Barbarians*, and had others with him as Hostages, to whom he gave the liberty to do what they pleas'd to his Subjects, in order to gratifie his leud Eyes; and thereby brought all the Nations that were under him into extream misery. At which the Court-Guards were troubled, and seeing him much given to Hunting, they put themselves under the conduct of *Marcellinus* Prefect of the Treasury, and *Magnentius* who commanded the *Joviani* and *Herculiani* (two Legions so called) and laid a Plot for him in this manner. *Marcellinus*

cellinus gave out he would keep his Sons Birth-day, and therefore invited a great many of the Superior Officers of the Army to the Feast, and among the rest *Magnentius*. And when it was midnight (for so long the Banquet lasted) *Magnentius* rose from Table as if he had been going about some necessary Affair, and was not gone long before he came again, as it had been in a Play, clothed in a Royal Robe and stood before 'em. Whereupon all the Guests there saluted him by the name of *King*, and all the Inhabitants of *Augustodunum* (for there it was that this was done) were of the same Opinion. But when the report of it was gone abroad, the Country people also flock'd into the City: Whilst at the same time a party of *Illyrian* Horse that came to supply the *Celtick* Legions, were joyn'd with those that were concern'd in this Enterprise. And to speak plainly, when the Officers of the Army came together, and heard the Heads of the Conspiracy cry out first, they scarce knew what the meaning was, but however they all set up their Throats and saluted *Magnentius* by the name of *Augustus*. Which when *Constans* heard, he endeavour'd to escape to a certain little Town, called *Helena*, that lies near the *Pirenean* Mountains.

tains. But he was taken by *Gaison* who was sent with some other select Men upon that Errand, and being destitute of all assistance, was kill'd.

When therefore *Magnentius* had gotten the Empire, and was Lord of all the Nations beyond the *Alps*, besides all *Italy*, *Vetranio*, General of the *Pannonian Army*, when he heard that *Magnentius* was promoted to be Emperour, was enflamed himself with the same desire, and declared Emperour by the Legions that he had there with him, residing at *Mursa*, a City of *Pannonia*. But whilst Affairs stood thus, the *Perians* plunder'd the Eastern Country, in *Mesopotamia* especially. But *Constantius* though he was worrited by the *Perians*, yet he resolv'd to subdue the factions of *Magnentius* and *Vetranio*.

But whilst he was considering of these things, and mighty intent upon his War-like preparations (*Magnentius* being yet in *Gallia Celtica*) *Nepotianus*, *Constantius*'s Nephew by his Sister, whose name was *Eutropia*, muster'd up a Company of mad Fellows, addicted to Robbery and all kind of debauchery, with whom he came to *Rome*, and appear'd in an Imperial Garb: But *Anicetus*, whom *Magnentius* had made Prefect of the Court, arm'd

arm'd some of the common people, and drew 'em out of the City, as if he design'd they should engage with *Nepotianus*, and a sharp Conflict indeed they had. But the *Romans*, who were undisciplin'd and observ'd no Order, were easily rout-ed: and when the Prefect saw 'em fly, he shut the Gates, for fear the Enemy should pursue 'em into the City: so that *Nepotianus*'s men follow'd 'em, and because they had no way to escape, kill'd 'em every man. But in a few days after *Magnentius* sent out an Army under the Command of *Marcellinus*, who was Commander of the Court-forces (whom they call, *Magister Officiorum*) and kill'd *Nepotianus*.

In the mean time *Constantius* came out of the East against *Magnentius*, but thought fit first to oblige *Vetranio* some way or other, because he knew it inconvenient to have to do with two Traitors at a time. And on the other side *Magnentius* did what he could to make *Vetranio* his friend, and thereby put an end to the War against *Constantius*. So they both sent Agents to *Vetranio*, who chose to be of *Constantius*'s side rather than that of *Magnentius*. Whereupon *Magnentius*'s Embaf-fadours went away without their Errand, and *Constantius* desired that both the Armies

mies might meet, to consult publickly how to manage the War against *Magnentius*. To which Proposal *Vetranio* easily agreed, and they two seated themselves upon a Throne provided for that purpose. Where *Constantius* according to his Dignity, speaking first, took all occasions in his Speech to 'em, to mind the Soldiers of his Fathers Munificence, and of the Oaths which they had taken to be true to his Children. And then he told 'em, they ought not to let *Magnentius* pass unpunish'd, who was the murtherer of *Constantine*'s Son, with whom they had fought many Battels, and been most generously rewarded for it. Which when the Soldiers heard, who had been before hand engaged by rich Presents, they cry'd out, They would have no mock-Emperors; and thereupon they presently strip'd *Vetranio* of his Purple and pull'd him from the Throne; with resolutions to make him live a private life. But *Constantius* would not suffer 'em to do him any harm, and therefore sent him into *Bitynia* where he gave him enough to live upon. But he had not lived there long without any employment, before he died.

Constantius seeing his Design against *Vetranio* took so good an effect, he went against *Magnentius*, but first made *Gallus* his

his Uncles Son, who was the Brother of *Julian* (that afterward came to be Emperor) *Cesar*, and gave him his Sister *Constantia* in Marriage; either in order to his opposing the *Persians*, or (which was the truth of it) to get an opportunity of taking him off. For he and his Brothers were the onely persons left of *Constantius*'s Family, who had kill'd all the rest, as I have told you. When therefore he had clothed him in a *Cesarian Robe*, and made *Lucillianus* General for the *Persian War*, he march'd toward *Magnentius* with his own and *Vetranio*'s Soldiers all in one body. And *Magnentius* on the contrary, who thought fit to meet him with more Forces, declared his kinsman *Decentius* (who was to govern the Nations beyond the *Alps*) *Cesar*. But when the Armies met in *Pannonia*, and came very near one another at a Town called *Mursa*, *Magnentius* planted an Ambuscade in the avenues near *Adrana* and sent a Messenger to *Constantius*'s Officers to retard their motion, that they might march into *Siscia*, because he intended to fight thereabout, where the fields were open and spacious. Which when *Constantius* heard he was very glad of it, that he was to fight in a place where there was room enough for the Horse, of which he had more than

the Enemy, and so led his Army toward *Siscia*. But as they went along, unarm'd and out of order (not thinking what would happen) the Troops who lay in Ambush fell upon 'em and stop'd their passage with Stones which they threw upon 'em in such vast quantities as that they kill'd most part of 'em.

And now seeing many of his Enemies slain, *Magnentius* was so proud of this Exploit, that he muster'd up his Forces, and would not suffer the War to be delay'd any longer, but march'd immediately into *Pannonia*. And when he came to the Plains before (that which was formerly) *Cius*, (through the middle of which the River *Draus* runs, and passing by *Noricum* and *Pannonia* discharges it self into the *Ister*) he led his men into *Pannonia*, intending to engage near *Sirmium*. But they say his Mother forbad him to go that way, or over into *Illyricum*, though he would not observe her directions, notwithstanding that he knew she had prov'd a true Prophetess to him upon many former occasions. In the mean while *Magnentius* deliberated whether he should cross the *Saus* by a Bridg of his own making, or joyn his Boats together and so pass over: and at the same time *Constantius* sent *Philip*, who was one of the greatest Men about

about him, as likewise a Person of extraordinary prudence, with a pretence of treating concerning Peace and an Alliance, but in reality, to observe the state of *Magnentius's* Army, and how they stood affected to fighting, or which way they were like to move. Who, when he came near to the Camp, met *Marcellinus*, who was *Magnentius's* greatest Favourite, and went along with him to *Magnentius*. Where after the Army was drawn up, *Philip* was desir'd to tell the reason of his coming. Nor had he sooner receiv'd the Order, than applying himself to the Soldiers, he told 'em, it was not fit for them who were *Roman Subjects* to wage War against *Romans*, especially when *Constantine's* Son was Emperor, with whom they had erected many Trophies against the *Barbarians*. And as for *Magnentius*, he ought to remember *Constantine*, with all the kindness he had shewn to him and his Parents. For it was *Constantine* that entertain'd him and promoted him to the greatest Dignities, when he was in imminent danger. And having so said, he desired that *Magnentius* would depart out of *Italy*, and be content to govern all the Nations beyond the *Alps*.

This Speech of *Philip* had like to have made a mutiny through the whole Army: and therefore *Magnentius*, who was in a fright and had much ado to get the Soldiers to hear him speak, told 'em he would willingly conclude a Peace too; but said, he would dismiss the Assembly for that present time, till he had considered what to do, and would tell 'em his Opinion the next day. Whereupon the Assembly being dissolv'd, *Marcellinus* entertain'd *Philip*, like one that he had a mind to be obliged to by the Laws of Hospitality: Whilst in the mean time *Magnentius* debated with himself, whether he should send *Philip* away without the intended effect of his coming, or keep him there, contrary to the Law of Embassies. And as he was in dispute about it, he thought fit to invite all the Officers of his Army to sup with him, and tell 'em his Opinion at Table. Which when he had done and that it was Day-light, he called the Army together once more, and put 'em in mind, what *Constans* had done against 'em when he was drunk and mad: and that the Soldiers could not endure those Enormities, wherewith he oppressed the Commonwealth against all Law and Justice, but inclined to that which was most advantageous to the publick; and when they

they had freed the Cities from such a savage beast, they forced him to be Emperor.

Nor had he made an end of speaking before they all rose up and shew'd their readiness for carrying on the War; by arming themselves immediately in order to pass the *Saus*. Of whose approach the Sentinels that were upon the Watch in *Siscia* (a Town that lies upon the *Saus*) were aware, and gave notice to the Garrison; who shot some of 'em as they were landing upon the bank of the River, and others, that were acoming over, they stopp'd: so that many of 'em were slain, but more were trampled into the River, either by one another or by the Enemy. By which means there was a great slaughter made among 'em; and whilst the one party fell off the Bridg as they endeavour'd to escape, the other pursu'd with all speed; so that *Magnentius*, who was reduced to his last shift, had onely this way to avoid the present danger. He stuck a Spear in the ground, and with his right Hand becken'd to the Enemy as if he had a mind to treat for a Peace. Which when he saw they listen'd to, He said he would not pass the *Saus* without the Emperor's leave. Which he had no sooner said, but *Philip* told him, he must leave

Italy and *Noricum* and go into *Illyricum*, if he would treat of Peace. And then *Constantius*, having heard what they said, commanded his Soldiers not to pursue 'em any longer, and permitted *Magnentius* to bring his men over into the Plains between *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Mysia* and *Dacia*: because he had a mind to get out of those rough, cumberlom places, and fight where his Horse might have room enough to shew themselves; for he had more than the Enemy. And his Design took effect; so that he pitch'd upon *Cibalis*, which he thought a convenient place for his business, it being the same place where *Constantine* formerly conquer'd *Licinius*. For that Town having the above situation, which I have told you in my Account of those times, he kept part of his Army in it. And when he had raised a Buzwark between the Hill where the City stands and the Plain where the River *Saus* runs, he enclosed all that part of it which is not encompass'd by the River, with a deep Ditch and a thick Mound. And then he made a Bridg of Boats over all that part that was surrounded by the River, which Bridg he could disjoin when he pleas'd, and put it together again with as much ease. And here he set up Tents for his Army, and in the middle of all a Tent-

Royal

Royal which was inferiour to none of the Towns thereabout either for bigness or Ornament. But at that time the Emperor invited his Officers to a Feast, at which all but *Latinus* and *Thalassius* were present; but they were not there, though they were the Emperors greatest favourites, because they were taking care for *Philip*, whom *Magnentius* detein'd, notwithstanding he was an Embassador.

But whilst they were consulting about this Affair, *Titianus*, a person of the Senatorian Order at *Rome*, came and brought a saucy Message from *Magnentius*. For he used many absurd expressions against *Constantine* and his Children, and charging the destruction of the Cities upon the Emperor's negligence; he commanded *Constantius* to make way for *Magnentius* by quitting the Empire, and be content to have his life saved. But he onely desired the Gods and Fate to be the revengers of *Constans*'s Death, saying that he would fight with their assistance, and so let *Titianus* go back again to *Magnentius*, though *Philip* were still in his custody. At which time *Magnentius* drew out his Army and taking *Siscia* upon the first attaque he razed it down to the ground. And when he had over-run all the Countrey near the *Saus* and carry'd away great spo^s he

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he march'd toward *Sirmium*, which he hoped likewise to take without bloodshed. But failing of his attempt (for he was beaten off by the Inhabitants and Soldiers that were set to guard the Town) he went with all his Army to *Murfa*. Where seeing those that were in the Town had shut the Gates against him, and got upon the Walls, he could not tell what to do in the case, (because he had no Engines, nor any other way to get near the Wall.) For he was pelted with Stones and Darts by those that stood and fought from the Battlements. Besides which, when *Constantius* heard the Town was besieged, he came with all his Forces to relieve it, having passed by *Cibalis* and all that Country through which the River *Draus* runs.

In the mean while *Magnentius* got nearer unto *Murfa* and set fire on the Gates; thinking that if he could consume the Iron that cover'd the Wood (which would soon yield to the flames) he might make a passage wide enough for his Army to enter the City. But this did not succeed as he would have had it, because those men that were upon the Wall put out the fire with Water which they threw down in a great quantity. When therefore he heard that *Constantius* was near

Murfa,

Murfa, he found out another stratagem, which was this: There was a certain *Stadium* or place of Exercise, before the City (assign'd formerly for those that used to fight Prizes) which was all cover'd over with Woods: in which he hid four Companies of *Celtæ*, and bad 'em, that, when *Constantius* came up, and they were ready to engage before the City, they should set upon the Enemies at unawares, so as to encompass and kill 'em every man. But this being discover'd by them that stood upon the Wall, *Constantius* sent *Scolidous* and *Manadus* two of his Captains immediately thither. But first they pick'd out all the choice of their Soldiers (as well such as wore heavy Armour as Bowmen) out of all those that they commanded, and taking them along with 'em shut up all the Doors belonging to the *Stadium*. And then having possess'd themselves of the upper steps going up to the *Stadium*, and enclosed the Soldiers that were in it on every side, they threw Darts at 'em. And seeing some of 'em put their Shields over their heads whilst they endeavour'd to break open the Doors, they fell upon them too, nor did they cease to throw Darts or cut 'em with their Swords till they had kill'd 'em every one. And thus *Magnentius*'s project being frustrated,

strated, and falling out contrary to expectation, the Armies met and fell to it in the Plain before *Mursa*; where there was such a Battel fought as was not known before in the whole course of this War, and many fell on both sides.

But *Constantius* considering that, this being a Civil War, even Victory it self would scarce be pleasant to him, now that the *Romans* were so much weaken'd, and not able to withstand the *Barbarians* (that attaqued 'em on every side) after so great a slaughter, he began to think that this War might be ended by some Proposals of a Peace. And whilst he was ruminating upon it, the Armies were still engaged; among whom the *Magnentian* party grew more furious than ever; nor would they give over fighting though Night came upon 'em, but even their Captains continu'd doing all that became common Soldiers, and encouraging the Soldiers to stand up stoutly against the Enemy. And so on the other side, *Constantius's* Captains call'd to mind the ancient courage and glory of the *Romans*. And so they fought on till it was dark Night; nor did they give over for all that, but wounded each other with Spears, Swords, or any thing else that came to their hands: insomuch that neither the dark-

darkness, nor any thing else, that uses to cause some respite in War, could make them cease to kill each other, but they thought it the greatest happiness that could befall 'em to perish by one anothers sides. And of the Captains, who shew'd themselves very stout and brave in this Battel, there fell among the rest *Arcadius* Captain of the Legion call'd *Abulci*, and *Menelaus* who commanded the Horse-Bowmen of *Armenia*.

Now it is worth ones while to tell you what they say of this *Menelaus*; and 'tis thus: They say that he would have taken three Darts at one time, and at one shot have hit not onely one but three mens bodies. By which way of shooting he kill'd a great many of the Enemies, and was himself almost the cause of their flight. But he was kill'd by *Romulus* who was Generalissimo of all *Magnentius's* Army; and *Romulus* also himself fell at the same time: Who though he were wounded by a Dart that *Menelaus* shot at him, yet he did not give over fighting after he had receiv'd the Wound, till he had kill'd the man that gave it him.

And now that *Constantius* had the better on't, by reason that *Magnentius's* Army ran away, there was a great slaughter

ter of Men, Horses , and other Cattel. Wherefore *Magnentius* who was destitute of all hopes , and fear'd lest the remaining part of his Army should deliver him to *Constantius* thought best to leave *Pannonia*, resolving to make an excursion into *Italy*, and there raise men to try his fortune once more. But when he heard that those of *Rome* were all of *Constantius*'s side, either out of hatred to him, or because they had heard what had happen'd in the fight, and concluded to go over the *Alps*, and seek some sanctuary for himself among those Nations, that live thereabouts. But hearing that *Constantius* had obliged the *Barbarians* about the *Rhine* to be his Enemies, by great Presents that he had made to 'em , as likewise that there was no going into *France*, by reason that some Officers had stopp'd his passage that way to gratifie *Constantius*, (nor could he go through *Spain* into the *Moors* Country , because of those *Roman* Allies there who studied to oblige *Constantius*) he was in such a confusion, that he preferr'd a voluntary death before a dishonourable life , and chose rather to die by his own than his Enemies hand.

And

And thus died *Magnentius* when he had been Emperor three years and six months. He was of *Barbarian* extract , but lived among the *Leti*, a people of *Gallia*. He understood *Latin*; was bold when Fortune favour'd him, but cowardly in Adversity ; ingenious in hiding his naturally ill inclination, and thought, by those that did not know him, to be a plain-hearted, good Man. And thus much I thought fit to say of *Magnentius* , because some have been of Opinion that he did a great deal of good in his time, that the World may know the truth of him, who never did any thing with a good intention in all his life.

But *Decentius* , whom *Magnentius* sent for to assist him , being now upon the Road to *Italy*, as soon as he heard what had befallen him, and lighting upon certain Legions and Troops , from whom he saw no hopes to escape , he hang'd himself.

After these things, when the whole Empire was now in *Constantius*'s hands, he began to be more arrogant than formerly, and could not behave himself with any moderation in his prosperity. And then the Offices for Calumny that use to be about such men, and are design'd for

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the ruine of those that are in prosperity, were augmented. For Sycophants when they go about to pull a great Man down, in hopes to share in his Estate, or Honour, they study some false Accusation against him. And this was the case in *Constantius's* time. For such kind of Rogues who had made the Eunuchs about Court their Accomplices in the cursed Affair, flocking about *Constantius*, persuaded him, that *Gallus* who was his Cousin-German, and a *Cesar*, was not content with that Honour, would needs be Emperor. And indeed they persuaded him that it was true so far that they made him resolve upon *Gallus's* destruction. Now those that laid this Design were *Dynamius* and *Picentius*, men of mean condition, that endeavour'd to raise themselves by such ill Actions. *Lampadius* also was in the Conspiracy, who was Prefect of the Court, and a Person that desired always to be more in the Emperors favour than any body else. Since therefore *Constantius* gave ear to such false Informations, *Gallus* was sent for, but knew nothing of that which was intended against him. And as soon as he came *Constantius* in the first place degraded him from the Dignity of being a *Cesar*, and when he had made him a

private

private person, delivered him to the publick Executioners to be put to death : which was not the first time *Constantius* had stain'd his hands in the blood of his kindred, but onely an addition to many former instances.

A New

A New
HISTORY
Written by
Count ZOSIMUS,
Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Third Book.



HE N Constantius had done what I have told you against Gallus Cesar, he went out of Pannonia into Italy. But seeing all the Roman Territories infested by the incursions of the Barbarians; and that the Franks, Alemans and Saxons had not onely gotten possession of forty Cities near the Rhine, but also destroy'd, and ruined 'em, by carrying

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ing away an innumerable company of the Inhabitants, and a proportionable quantity of Spoils; as likewise, that the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* without any obstruction over-ran *Pannonia* and the upper *Mysia*; besides that the *Persians* were perpetually vexatious to the Eastern Countreys, though they had formerly been quiet out of fear, lest *Callus Cesar* should have set upon 'em: considering (I say) those things, and doubting what to do, he scarce thought himself able alone to manage Affairs in this critical juncture, and yet he was affraid to take a Partner in the Government, because he so much affected to rule alone, and thought no man could be his Friend. And indeed in these circumstances he was at a great loss: but it so fell out, that when the Roman Empire was in the greatest danger, *Eusebia*, *Constantius*'s Wife, who was an extraordinary learned Woman, and had more Wisdom than is usually found in her Sex, advised him to make *Julianus Cesar* (who was Brother to *Gallus*, Grandson to *Constantius* and made a *Cesar* by *Diocletian*) Governor of the Nations which lie beyond the *Alps*. And because *Eusebia* knew that the Emperour *Constantius* suspected all his kindred, she circumvented him in this manner: He, said she (meaning

ing *Julian*) is a young Man, that understands no Tricks of State, but has devoted himself to his Book all his life-time, being altogether unexperienced in Worldly affairs; upon which account he will be the more fit for our purpose than any other Person; for either he will have good luck, and so all his success will be ascribed to the Emperors Conduct, or he will miscarry and die for it; after whom *Constantius* will have no body of the Imperial Race to succeed him.

When *Constantius* had patiently heard what she said, he presently sent for *Julianus* from *Athens*, where he lived among the Philosophers, and excelled all his Masters in every sort of Learning. Who when he accordingly came out of *Greece* into *Italy*, *Constantius* declared him *Cesar*, gave him his Sister *Helen* in Marriage, and sent him into the Nations beyond the *Alps*. But being naturally diffident, he could not believe that *Julian* would be true and faithful to him, and therefore he sent *Marcellus* and *Salustius* along with him, to whom, and not to *Cesar*, he committed the whole administration of that Government.

And now *Constantius* having thus disposed of *Julian*, he march'd himself into *Pannonia* and *Mysia*, where when he had

suppress'd the *Quadi* and the *Sarmatians*, he went into the East, and was provoked to Battel by the inrodes of the *Persians*. By which time *Julian* was gotten over the *Alps* into the *Gallick Nations* that he was to Rule; upon whom seeing the *Barbarians* committed as much violence as ever, *Eusebia*, for the same reasons as before, persuaded *Constantius* to put the sole management of those parts into his hands. Now of *Julian*'s actions from that time through the whole course of his life, you may read at large in the Historians and Poets; though ne'r an one of 'em that have written of him, has wrote the heighth of his Character. But he that has a mind may see his own *Orations* and *Epistles*, and in them take a prospect of all that he did through the whole World. And indeed I would give you a full account of him, but that I ought not to interrupt the Order of my History. However I shall take notice of each particular relating to him in its due place; especially of such things as others have seemed to omit. — When therefore *Constantius* had given *Cesar* power to do what he thought fit in those Nations that were under his Command, he march'd into the East, to make War against the *Persians*. But *Julian* finding the Militia of *Gallia Celtica* in a manner quite

quite ruined, and that the *Barbarians* pass'd the *Rhine* without any resistance even almost as far as the Sea-port Towns, he took a view of the remaining part of the Army. And understanding that the men of those parts were frighted at the very name of *Barbarians*, whilst those whom *Constantius* had sent along with him (who were not above three hundred and sixty in number) knew nothing more (as he used to say) than how to say their Prayers, he listed as many more as he could and took in abundance of Volunteers. He also took care for Arms, and found a parcel of old ones in a certain Town, which he fitted up with all convenient speed and distributed among the Soldiers. But when the Scouts brought him word that an infinite number of *Barbarians* had cross'd the River near the City of *Argentoratum* (*Strasburgh*) that stands upon the *Rhine*, he no sooner heard of it, than he went forth with his Army in all haste, and engaging with the Enemy gain'd such a Victory as is above all expression; for there were sixty thousand men kill'd upon the spot, besides as many more that were tumbled into the River and drown'd. So that if a man compares this Battel with that of *Alexander* against *Darius*,

he'll find this Victory to be no way inferior to that.

But we ought not silently to pass over that which *Cesar* did after he had gotten the Victory, which was thus. He had (you must know) a Regiment of six hundred Horse, that were well disciplin'd men; to whose strength and experience he so far trusted, that he ventur'd a great part of his hopes upon their performances. And indeed when the fight first began, the whole Army fell upon the Enemy with all the brisknes they could shew: but some time after though the *Roman* Army had much the better on't, these were the onely men that ran away, and left their station so dishonourably, that when *Cesar* rode up to 'em with a small Party and called 'em back to share in the Victory, he could not prevail with 'em by any means. Upon which account *Cesar* was very angry with them, that they (as much as in them lay) had betray'd their Countrymen to the *Barbarians*. But yet he did not inflict upon them the legal and usual punishment. For he put 'em in Womens Cloths, and led 'em through the Camp toward another Province, because he thought such a Penalty would be worse than Death to Soldiers that

that were Men. And truly this happen'd to prove very good both for him and them: for in the second War against the *Germans*, they remember'd the ignominy, that was formerly laid upon them, and were almost the onely men, who behav'd themselves bravely in that Action.

When *Cesar* had done thus, he raised a great Army by degrees, to make War upon the whole *German* Nation. But the *Barbarians* oppoied him in very vast numbers, and therefore *Cesar* would not stay till they came up to him, but cross'd the *Rhine*; as judging it more advantageous that the *Barbarians* Country should be the Seat of War rather than that of the *Romans*; for thereby the Cities would escape being pillaged by the *Barbarians* any more. So therefore to it they fell, and very briskly too, insomuch that an infinite number of *Barbarians* were slain in the Battel; whilst others fled, whom *Cesar* pursu'd into the *Hercynian Woods*, and kill'd a great many of 'em, but took *Vadomarius*, the *Barbarian* Generals Son, alive, and brought his Army home, singing triumphant Songs, and Praises to *Cesar* for his Exploits in the atchieving of those Victories. But *Julian* sent *Vadomarius* unto *Constantius*, believing that he owed the success of that Victory to his good Fortune.

In the mean time the *Barbarians*, who were in very dangerous circumstances, fearing, upon the account of their Wives and Children, lest *Cesar* should go into those places where they lived, and quite destroy their whole Generation, they sent Embassadors to treat of an Accommodation, by which they would be bound never to fight against the *Romans* any more. But *Cesar* told 'em, He would not treat of Peace upon any terms, unless he first receiv'd back the Captives whom they had formerly taken in the several Towns which they conquer'd. To which seeing they consented and promised to deliver up all that were alive; *Cesar*, to make sure that no single Captive should remain among the *Barbarians*, took this course: He sent for all those that were fled out of each City and Village, and requir'd 'em to tell him by their Names what Captives the *Barbarians* had taken from each of their Cities or Villages. And when they had severally named the Persons, whom they knew either upon the score of Kindred, Neighbourhood, Friendship, or upon some other account, he order'd the Imperial Notaries to take a Catalogue of them: which they did so privately that the Embassadors knew nothing of it. And then *Cesar* crossing the

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Rhine, commanded them to bring back the Captives: which in a short time they obey'd. But because they said, that those were all the Captives, *Cesar* who was seated upon an high Throne, and had planted the Notaries behind him, he gave Order, that the *Barbarians* should produce their Captives, according to their Articles. So when the Captives came before him one by one and told their names, the Notaries that stood hard by *Cesar*, look'd into their Papers to see whether they were right. But afterward comparing those which they had taken down, with those that appear'd before *Cesar*, and finding that the Inhabitants of the several Cities and Villages had named many more than were there present, they stood behind *Cesar* and told him of it. Whereupon he threaten'd the Embassadors to make War against the *Barbarians*, for not delivering all the Captives, and by the suggestion of the Notaries named certain Persons of such and such Towns that were yet lacking. Which the *Barbarians* hearing, they presently imagined that *Cesar* had all the most abstruse and secret things in Nature revealed to him by some Divine Intelligence, and therefore they promised to deliver up all that they found alive, and Bound their Promise with the

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the accustomary Oaths of their Country.

Which when they had done, and had restored as many Captives as it was probable might be taken out of forty Cities which they sack'd, *Cesar* was at a loss what to do, because he saw the Cities quite ruined, and that the Land had been for a considerable time untill'd, which caused a great scarcity of provisions among those that were delivered up by the *Barbarians*. For the neighbouring Cities could not supply 'em, because they them selves had been very sensible of the *Barbarian* violence, and consequently had no great plenty for their own use. He therefore, being in a doubt what to resolve on, contrived it thus : The *Rhine* discharges it self into the *Atlantick Ocean* at the utmost limits of *Germany*, where some of the *Galls* live : and from that shore the *British Isle* lies nine hundred furlongs distant. For which reason he got Timber out of the Woods that lie upon the River and built eight hundred Vessels, bigger than *Skiffs*; which he sent into *Britain* for Corn, and invented a way how to carry that Corn up the *Rhine* in Boats. And this he did so often (because the Voyage was but short) that he abundantly supply'd them, that were restored to their Cities, so that they had meat enough,

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Seed-corn, and what they lacked between that and Harvest. And these things he did when he was hardly enter'd into the five and twentieth year of his Age.

But seeing the Soldiers loved him for his frugality at home and courage in the Wars, and also for his Command that he had of himself in respect to Riches with his other Virtues, wherein he excell'd, I had almost said, all the men of his Age, *Constantius* was full of envy to see *Julian* do such great things ; and thought that *Salustius* who was one of those Counsellours that were allotted to him, had been the Author of all that Policy which gained him so much Honour both in his Warlike and Civil Affairs. Wherefore he sent for *Salustius*, as if he would have made him Governour of the Eastern Countreys. And *Julian* as readily dismiss'd him, because he was resolv'd to be obedient unto *Constantius* in all points. But though *Salustius* were now removed, yet all that was committed to *Julian's* charge encreas'd every day (as I may say) in a great measure, and the Soldiers were improved in military experience, as well as augmented in their numbers, whilst the Towns enjoy'd Peace and the fruits of it.

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And now almost all the *Barbarians* thereabouts began to despair, and expected little less than the utter ruine and destruction of all them that were left alive, when at the same time the *Saxons* (who are the stoutest *Barbarians* in all those parts both for courage, strength and hardness in a Campagne) sent out the *Quadi*, who are a part of themselves, into the *Roman* Dominions. But they were hinder'd from passing the River by the *Franks* (who lived upon their Confines, and were afraid of giving *Cesar* a just occasion to make another inrode upon them) and therefore built themselves a convenient number of Boats, in which they sailed up-on the *Rhine* beyond the *French* Territories, and got into the *Roman* Empire. And when they arrived at *Batavia*, which the *Rhine* by being divided makes an Island, much bigger than any River-Island besides, they drove out the *Salii*, who are a Nation descended from the *Franks* and turn'd out of their own Country into this Island by the *Saxons*. For this Island though it had been formerly subject to none but the *Romans*, yet it was now in possession of the *Salii*. Which when *Cesar* knew, he endeavour'd to countermine the *Quadi*; but first commanded his Army to engage them briskly, but kill ne'r an one

one of the *Salii* or hinder their passage into the *Roman* Countreys, because they did not come as Enemies, but were forced thither by the *Quadi*.

As soon as the *Salii* heard how kind *Cesar* was to 'em, some of 'em went over out of the Island with their King into the *Roman* Confines, and others fled to the utmost borders of the Country, but all of 'em came and humbly committed both their lives and fortunes to *Cesar's* gracious protection.

But *Cesar* by this time observing that the *Barbarians* durst not fight with him any more, they were so intent upon their secret incursions and sly Thieveries (by which they did a great deal of damage to the Country) he could not tell what to do, till at the last he invented this Stratagem to baffle the *Barbarians*. There was a man, much bigger than any body else, and one that had courage proportionable to his bulk. Which Person, being by Nation a *Barbarian*, and having used to rob with the other *Barbarians*, thought fit to leave his own Country and go into *Gallicia Celtica*, which was under the *Romans*. But whilst he sojourn'd sometime at *Treves* (which is the greatest City in all the Nations beyond the *Alps*) and saw the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine* over-run the

the Cities that are situate upon this side of the River, and pillage all places without controul (which was before that *Julian* was made a *Cesar*) he was resoving with himself to defend those Towns. But because he durst not do that for want of Law to back him in it, he at first went alone into the thickest part of the Woods and waited till the *Barbarians* made their incursions, and so in the Night-time when they were Drunk and asleep, he set upon 'em and cut off as many of their heads as he was able, which he brought and shew'd to those that were in the Town. And this he did continually; insomuch that he re-livated the keennes of the *Barbarians*, who though they could not tell how it came to pass, yet they were sensible of a prejudice done to 'em by the Armies decreasing almost every Day. But after other Robbers had join'd with this same Person and of a great many single Persons had made a considerable Company, then *Charietto* (for that was the mans Name; who first found out this way of Ambuscade against the *Barbarians*) came to *Cesar* and told him all the story, which few People knew before that time. —— And thereupon *Cesar* who could not easily restrain the nocturnal and clandestine irrodes of the *Barbarians* (for they robb'd in

in small Companies straggling from each other: and when it was Day, you could not see one man of 'em, because they hid themselves in Woods adjacent to the fields, and lived upon that which they had gotten by robbing) *Cesar* therefore (I say) considering how difficult it was to subdue such an Enemy, was forced to oppose these Thieves not with an Army of Soldiers onely, but Moss-Troopers also.

For this reason he took *Charietto* and his men along with him, besides a good many of the *Salii* which he added to 'em, and sent 'em forth in the Night against the thievish *Quadi*, who though they lived at that time upon what they stole, yet might be less skill'd in the Art of Robbing which these men had studied. And then in the Day-time he kept Guard in the open field, and kill'd all that escaped his Robbers. And thus he did for a great while together, till the *Quadi* were reduced to such a streight, and so small a number that they and their General surrendered themselves to *Cesar*, who had taken a great many Prisoners in the former excursions and engagements, had got among the rest, the Kings Son, whom *Charietto* took. For that was the cause that when they made such miserable Petitions for Peace, and *Cesar*

Cesar demanded some of their Nobility for Hostages; amongst whom he requir'd the King's Son should be one; the General [or King] broke out into a most lamentable Complaint and swore, with tears in his Eyes, that he had lost his Son too among the rest. Which *Cesar* seeing, he had compassion upon his sorrow and shew'd him his Son who was kept very nobly: but told him withal, that he would keep the Youth for an Hostage, as well as others of the Nobility whom he had upon that account; for he condescended to make Peace with 'em upon Condition that they should never more lift up their hands against the *Romans*.

When *Cesar* had settled things in this manner, he added the *Salii*, some part of the *Quadi* and of them that live in the Isle *Batavia*, to his Legions, whose Discipline we seem still to retain. But in the mean time the Emperour *Constantius* was in the East disposing onely of the *Perſian* Affairs and intent upon the Wars in those parts. For all the Nations beyond the *Alps* were in good order, as being managed by *Cesar's* Conduct: nor were either *Italy* or *Illyricum* in any danger, by reason that the *Barbarians* who dwelt beyond the *Ister* were affraid lest *Cesar* should come through

through *Gallia*, pass the *Ister* and set upon 'em, and therefore contain'd themselves within the bounds of modesty. Wherefore *Constantius* being thus employ'd, the *Perſians* whose Kings name was *Sapores*, at that time pillaged the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and when they had wasted all places about *Nisibis*, they besieged the City it self with all their Forces. But *Lucillianus* the General was so well provided for a Siege that partly by the happy occasions which he prudently made use of, and partly by his own contrivances the City escaped those mischiefs that beset it, and was deliver'd from extremity of danger: But how it was brought about I thought superfluous to tell you, since *Cesar* himself has given an account of all the transactions of those times in a peculiar Treatise; which whosoever reads, will find a great deal of Oratory in that Man.

But at this juncture when the Affairs of the East seem'd now to be in a quiet posture, and *Cesar's* mighty deeds were the publick Discourse, *Constantius* was seized with bitter envy. And being stung with the prosperous success of all that was done in *Celtica* and *Spain*, he devised pretences, under which he by degrees, and without any dishonor might lessen *Cesar's* Power and so deprive him of his Dignity. To

which end he by a Messenger commanded *Cesar* to send him two Legions of the *Celtick* Soldiers, as if he wanted their assistance. And *Julian* in obedience to his Order immediately dispatch'd 'em away, partly through ignorance of his Design, and partly because he would not give him the least occasion to be angry. But when he had so done, he took all care imaginable of the *Celtick* Affairs, whilst the Army encreas'd daily and the *Barbarians* even in the remotest parts of the Country were so terrified at it that they did not so much as dream of making War. But after that *Constantius* required some other Legions to be sent him from *Cesar*: and having obtuin'd his desire, he commanded four Companies more to be transmitted to him. According to which Precept *Cesar* gave notice to the Soldiers that they should prepare to march. But whilst *Julian* was at *Parisium* (a little Town in *Germany*) the Soldiers being ready to march were at Supper till Midnight in a place near the Palace which there they so called, but knew not a word of what was intended against *Cesar*; when certain Tribunes, who had found that to be really true which was formerly contrived against him, dispers'd a great many Notes without any Name to 'em privately among the

the Soldiers, in which they gave 'em to understand, how *Cesar*, who by his Policy had so order'd the matter, that almost all of them had erected Trophies against the *Barbarians*; and had always fought like a private Soldier, was in extreme danger from the Emperor, who would shortly rob him of all his Army, if they did not all get together and hinder the Soldiers marching. And when some of the Soldiers, having read those Notes, had discover'd the Intrigue to the whole Army, it made 'em all very angry. Whereupon they arose from the place where they were in a great hurli-burly, whilst the Cups were yet in their hands and went to the Palace, where breaking open the Doors without any Ceremony at all, they brought *Cesar* forth, and lifting him up upon a Shield declared him Emperor *Augustus*, and put a Diadem upon his Head whether he would or no.

'Tis true, *Cesar* was troubled at what they had done, but did not think it safe for him to reverse it, because *Constantius* would not abide by any Oaths, or Covenants, nor observe any other Obligation which binds mankind to keep their words; and yet he would try him. So he sent Embassadours to tell *Constantius* that he

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had been declared Emperour without his seeking, and if he pleased he was ready to lay aside his Diadem and keep to his honour of being *Cesar* onely. But *Constantius* was so enraged and so arrogant, that he told the Embassadors, That if *Julian* loved his life, he must lay down the very Garb of a *Cesar* as well as his Imperial Dignity, and in a private capacity submit himself to the Emperors pleasure. For he should come to no harm, nor suffer what his audacity deserv'd. Which when *Julian* was inform'd of by the Embassadors, he openly shew'd what his Opinion was of the Deity, and declared before 'em all, He had rather trust the Gods than *Constantius* with his life and fortune. And from this time it plainly appear'd what a grudg *Constantius* bore to *Julian*; for *Constantius* presently prepared for a Civil War. When at the same *Julian* was troubled that such things should fall out; because if he fought with him who had conferr'd upon him the Honour of a *Cesar*, he should be esteemeed by many People but an ungrateful Man.

But whilst he was considering of these things, and revolving within himself, as being very loth to undertake a civil War, the Deity told him what should come to pass,

pass, in a Dream. For when he was at Vienna, the Sun seemed in a Dream to shew him the Constellations and to speak these Veres:

*When Jupiter th' extremity commands
Of moist Aquarius, and Saturn stands
In Virgo, twenty five, Constantius shall,
Though Emperour of Asia, surely fall.*

Now therefore relying upon this Dream, he was very diligent (as he used to be) in publick busines. And because it was yet Winter-time he took all necessary care of what related to the *Barbarians*, that if he should have been forced to undertake any new Enterprise, the state of *Celtica* might have been secure. But at the same time, whilst *Constantius* continu'd in the East, *Julian* prepared to frustrate his Design. For it being pretty far in the Summer, he had no sooner settled matters among the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine*, (whom he had partly forced into good manners with his Sword, and partly persuad'd 'em by experience, from what was past, to love Peace rather than War) he put his Army in such a posture as if they had been just a going a long Journey. And when he had constituted both Civil and Military Officers to govern the Towns

and the Borders, he march'd with his Army toward the *Alps*. And when he came into *Aetia*, where the River *Ister* rises that runs though *Noricum*, all *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Mygia* in *Thrace* and *Scytkia*, till it discharges it self into the *Euxine Sea*, he built a company of Boats, and with three thousand of his men went down the *Ister*, commanding twenty thousand of 'em to go by Land to *Sirmium*. And because they rowed continually with the stream (besides that they had the benefit of the yearly Winds called *Etesie*) he arrived the eleventh day at *Sirmium*. Where when it was reported that the Emperor was come, almost all People thought it had been *Constantius* that was meant; but seeing it was *Julian*, they all stood amazed, as if they had taken him for an Apparition.

But not long after when his Army that follow'd him out of *Celtica* was come, he wrote to the *Roman Senate* and to the Forces of *Italy*, to have a care and keep their Cities, since he was Emperor. And whereas *Taurus* and *Florentius*, the two Consuls for that year who were of *Constantius's* side, left *Rome* as soon as they heard that *Julian* was got over the *Alps* into *Pannonia*, he order'd them to be term'd Fugitive Consuls in all publick Instruments.

ments. But he behaved himself very obligingly to all the Towns that he pass'd by, though in all haste, and put 'em all in good hopes of him. He likewise wrote to the *Athenians*, the *Lacedemonians* and *Corinthians*, to let 'em know the reason of his coming. And when he was at *Sirmium* there came Embassadours out of almost all *Greece* to him; to whom when he had given such answers as became him, and granted 'em all that was their due, he march'd forward with his *Celtick Army*, and another which he rais'd both out of *Sirmium* and the Legions which lay in *Pannonia* and *Mygia*.

But when he came to *Naisus* he consulted the Soothsayers to know what he had best to do. And seeing the Entrails signified that he must stay there some time, he did so, observing withal the time that was foretold to him in his Dream. Which when it was come according to the motion of the Stars, there arrived a party of Horse from *Constantinople*, whilst he was at *Naisus*, who told him that *Constantius* was dead; and that the Armies desired *Julian* should be Emperour.

Whereupon he accepted of what the Gods had bestow'd upon him, and so went on his Journey forward. But when he came to *Byzantium*, the People all received

ceived him with joyful Acclamations, calling him their Fellow-Citizen and their Darling (because he was born and bred in that City) and gave him all other kind of respect, as a Person that was like to be the Author of very much good to Mankind. And here whil^t he took care both for the City and the Army, he gave the City the priviledg to call a Senate like that in the City of *Rome*. He also made a large Port to it, to secure the Ships from the South-winds; together with a Portico (resembling the Letter *Sigma* more than a straight figure) which leads to the Port. And besides all this, he built a Library in the Imperial Portico, wherein he put all the Books that he had; and having so done, prepared for the *Persian War*. But when he had tarried ten months in *Byzantium* he made *Hormisdas* and *Vicer* Generals, to whom he committed the Tribunes and the Armies, and so went to *Antioch*. It is not necessary to tell you with what pleasure and zeal the Soldiers went this Journey. For it is not likely that they should do any thing that was unseemly when they were under such an Emperors Conduct as *Julian* was. So when he came to *Antioch* the People received him very kindly. But being by nature great lovers of Shews and publick Sports,

Sports, and more addicted to pleasure than serious matters, they did not very probably so well like the Emperors prudence and modesty in all sorts of things; because he would refrain from coming into the publick Theatres, nor would he often see Plays, or when he did, not sit at 'em all Day. Upon which account they spoke very strange words of him that vex'd him. But he was reveng'd upon 'em, not by inflicting any real punishment, but by composing a very gentile Oration upon them and the City; which has so much of *Satyr* in it mix'd with Gall, that it may serve for a Lampoon upon the *Antiochians* through the World. But they were sorry for their faults: and therefore the Emperor when he had done for the City as much as in equity he was able, and granted to it a great number of Senators who should succeed in that Office by descent from Father to Son; and likewise admitted those that were born of Senators Daughters to be of the same number, (which is a priviledg that few Cities have) and done many other just and good Actions, he prepared for the *Persian War*.

And when the Winter was over, having muster'd his Forces together, and sent 'em before him in the regular way
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of marching, he went out of *Antioch* though he had no encouragement from the Oracle. But what the reason of that was I can tell; though I had rather hold my Tongue. Now therefore when he was come to *Hierapolis* upon the fifth day, where he had order'd all the Ships to meet, both Men of War and those of Burthen too, from *Samosata* and other places that used to sail in *Euphrates*; and having made *Hierius*, a Captain of Foot, his Admiral, he sent him before, but stay'd himself three days and no more in *Hierapolis*. After which time he went to *Batnae* a little Town in *Ostroena*, where the *Edesenes* met him in whole Doves, presenting him with a Crown, and bidding him welcome into their City with joyful acclamations. He accepted of their kindness, and coming into the City, made what Orders he thought good and so went on to *Carrae*. But because from hence there were two ways; the one through the River *Tigris* and the City of *Nisibis*, till you come to the Provinces of *Adiabene*, and the other by *Euphrates* and *Circesium* (which is a Castle encompassed by the River *Aboras* and *Euphrates* it self, and lies upon the Confines of *Affyria*) the Emperor was at a stand which way to take,

take, and in the mean time news was brought that the *Perians* had made an incursion upon the *Roman* Dominions. At which the Camp was somewhat disturb'd; But the Emperor understood they were Robbers rather than any others, who took what came next to their hands and went their way with it; and therefore he resolv'd to leave a competent Guard upon the places near the River *Tigris*, lest if all the Army should go along with him the other way through the *Persian* Territories, the *Perians* should pillage *Nisibis* and all those parts without being discover'd, especially when they found 'em destitute of all Defence. He therefore thought fit to leave in that Country eighteen thousand men, of whom *Sebastianus* and *Procopius* should be the Chief Commanders, whilst he himself with the main Body of the Army went over *Euphrates* with his Forces divided into two Parties; that they might be ready to resist the Enemy as soon as they saw 'em, and not suffer 'em so licentiously to over-run whatever came in their way.

When he had thus order'd his Affairs at *Carrae*, (a Town that parts the *Roman* from the *Affyrian* Dominions) he had a mind to view the Army from some more eminent place, and admire the Foot Companies

panies as well as the Troops of Horse, which were in all full sixty five thousand men. And therefore marching out of *Carrae*, he presently pass'd the Castles between that and *Callinicum*, from whence arriving at *Circesium* (of which I told you before) he cross'd the River *Aboras* and so failed over *Euphrates*. The Soldiers also follow'd him who had brought provisions along with them, and they likewise took shipping who were enjoin'd so to do. For by this time the Navy was arriv'd, in which there was a great many ships; that is to say, six hundred made of Wood, and five hundred made of Skins. Besides which there were fifty ships of War, and others also that follow'd along with 'em, to make Bridges, if occasion were, for the Army to pass the Rivers on foot. There were also a great number of other Ships or Vessels that follow'd, which serv'd partly to carry provisions for the Army, partly Timber to make Engines, and partly battering Engines for a Siege, that were ready made. Now of all this Navy *Lacilianus* and *Constantius* were Admirals. And when the Army was thus disposed of, the Emperor sat upon a Throne, and from thence spake to 'em all that was requisite for him to say or them to do; which when he had done, he gave each of 'em an hundred

dred and thirty pieces of Silver, and so march'd toward *Persia*, where *Victor* commanded the Foot, but *Hormidas* and *Arintheus* together, the Horse. Of that *Hormidas* I told you before, that he was a *Persian* and a Kings Son; but persecuted by his Brother and fain to run away to the Emperor *Constantine*, from whom his approved fidelity and friendship deserv'd the greatest honours and preferments.

When therefore the Emperor was come into *Persia*, the Horse was placed in the left Wing, and march'd along the bank of the River, whilst part of the Foot attended upon the right, and the rereguard of them was seventy furlongs off. Between whom and the foremost march'd the Beasts of Burthen, that carry'd the heavy Armour with other Provisions and Attendants; that they also might be secure, as being enclosed on every side by the Army. And now having so contrived his march forward, he thought fit to send one thousand five hundred of his men before him, to scout and see whether any Enemy approached either in open view or by way of Ambuscade, of whom he made *Lacilianus* Captain. Then moving forward sixty furlongs, he came into a place called *Lautha*; and from thence to *Dura*, where

where you might have seen the ruins of a City, which was at that time deserted, as likewise the Sepulchre of King *Gordianus*. In which place also the Soldiers found a multitude of Deer, which they shot and eat with great satisfaction. From thence he went seven Days march to a place called *Phathusæ*, over against which there was an Island in the River, whereon stood a Castle that had a great many men in it. He therefore sent *Lucilianus* thither with a thousand of his Vanguard under his Command, to besiege the Castle. And though as long as it was dark the besiegers went undiscover'd, yet as soon as it was Day, being espied by one that came out of the Castle to fetch Water, they put those that were within into a grievous fright. Upon which immediately they all got up upon the Wall, till the Emperor came over into the Island with his Engines and the other part of his Army, and promised those that were within, that if they would deliver up themselves and their Castle they should escape certain Death. Accordingly they did surrender, and the Emperor sent them, Men, Women and Children into the *Roman* Dominions with a Guard of Soldiers to conduct 'em: and made *Puseus*, their Captain,

tain, not only a Tribune in his own Army, but, for his fidelity, made him one of his familiars ever after.

Some distance from this, he arrived at another Island in the same River, where there was another very strong Castle; which the Emperor attaqued but found it impregnable on every side, and therefore demanded of 'em that they would surrender, and not run the risque of being sack'd. To which they reply'd, That they would do as others did; and so he went forward to other Castles, which he pass'd by, as being satisfied with the like promises. For he did not think it worth his while to spend too much time about small things, but look'd upon it as his best course to hasten and prepare for the main business of the War. So then after some days march he came to *Dacira* which is a Town on the right hand as you sail along *Euphrates*. Which when the Soldiers found forsaken of its Inhabitants, they took away a great deal of Corn that was laid up there, and no small quantity of other things. And when they had kill'd all the Women that were left in it, they razed the Walls so low, that no one who saw the place would think there ever had been a Town there. But to conclude the account of this place and the parts adjacent,

cent, give me leave to tell you by the by, That upon the opposite shoar there was a Fountain, that flow'd with Pitch or Bitumen. From thence he came to *Sitha*, *Megia* and the City *Zaragardia*; in which there was a lofty Throne, made of Stone; which the Inhabitants used to call, *Trajan's Throne*: where when the Soldiers had easily plunder'd and burnt the City, they spent that Day and the next in Recreations.

In the mean time the Emperor wonder'd that his Army had march'd so far and met no *Perians* either in Ambuscade or the open Field; wherefore he sent *Hormisdas* with his Scouts to look out, because he knew that Country best. In which Expedition *Hormisdas* and his Soldiers had all been like to have perish'd if it had not been for one lucky accident that unexpectedly saved 'em. For a Person called *Surenas* (which is a Title of Honour among the *Perians*) had planted an Ambuscade in a certain place, expecting *Hormisdas* and his men to come that way, and designing to surprize 'em as they pass'd by. And indeed that hopes had taken effect, if *Euphrates* had not broken out of its usual course and running between the Enemy and *Hormisdas* impeded the passage of him and his Soldiers.

diers. And upon this account being forced to defer their Journey, the next Day they discover'd *Surenas* and all his Accomplices in the Ambuscade, with whom they wheeled about and engaged. And having kill'd many of 'em, they put some to flight, but mingled the remaining part among their own Army. From thence they went on to an Arm of *Euphrates*, which reaches as far as *Affria*, and all along till you come to *Tigris*. Where being the Soldiers met with a stiff Clay and marshy ground, in which the Horses had the worst on't, nor could they themselves swim the River in their Armour, or wade over either, it was so deep and muddy, they could not imagine what to do. And that which made the danger greater, was, that they saw the Enemy on the other side, who were ready to stop their passage with Darts and Stones which they threw out of Slings. But when no body else could think of an Expedient to free them from these imminent dangers, the Emperor himself, who was a man of great sagacity in all things and very well vers'd in Military Affairs, resolved to order *Luciliianus* and his fifteen hundred Scouts to go and attaque the Enemy behind, thereby to give 'em a Diversion, till he and his Army had pass'd the River. To which

end he sent forth *Victor*, one of his Captains, with a competent number of men: who left the *Perians* should see him set out, began his Journey in the Night-time, and when he had gone so far, that the Enemies could not see what he did even in the Day, he cross'd the Channel to seek *Lucillianus* and his Party. And going on still forward but finding no Enemy by the way, he call'd out to his Country-men not onely with a loud Voice, but gave 'em notice also with Trumpets to come to him. But indeed he met him according to his desire, and *Lucillianus* who guess'd what his business was, joining his with *Victors* Forces, went and surprised the Enemy behind. Who being taken so unprepared were either slain or made their escape which way soever they could. By this means the Emperor, seeing his stratagem succeeded, pass'd over the River without any resistance. And having got his Horse over in Boats that he light upon there, and the Foot in other Vessels, which he found in many parts of the River, he continu'd his Journey forward, without any dread of an Enemy, till he came to a certain City called *Bersabora*, whose bigness and Situation he took a view of. For it was enclosed with two round Walls, and in the middle

of

of it there was a Castle, with another Wall about it, much like the Segment of a Circle; to which there was a Way from the inner Wall of the City, that one could hardly get up to. And then upon the South and West side of this City there was a crooked winding way out: whereas upon the North part they had made a broad Water-graff out of the River, from whence they convey'd Water for the use of the Inhabitants. And lastly upon the East side it was encompassed with a deep Ditch and a Mound born up with strong cross pieces of Timber; about which Ditch great Towers stood, which were built from the ground half way with Brick cemented by a kind of bituminous Loam; but above the middle they were made of the same kind of Bricks and Plaister.

Now the Emperor having resolv'd to take this City, he encouraged his Soldiers to the attempt, who were so far from being backward that they obey'd his Order with all alacrity. Whereupon the Citizens desired that the Emperor would please to receive 'em into his favour and friendship; begging one while that he would send *Hormisdas* to treat of Peace with them, and anon reviling the same Person as a Fugitive, a Renegado, and a

betrayer of his Countrey. At which the Emperor having good cause to be angry, he commanded all his Men to mind their busness, and carry on the Siege with all their vigour. Nor did they fail each one to do his part, till the besieged seeing themselves unable to defend their Walls fled all into the Castle. Which when the Emperor saw, he sent his Soldiers into the City that was now bereft of its Inhabitants; who pull'd down the Walls, burnt the Houses, and planted Engines upon the most opportune places, from which they threw both Darts and Stones upon them that were got into the Castle. But because the besieged from the Castle kept off the besiegers with Darts and Stones which they continually threw back; insomuch that there was a great slaughter on both sides, the Emperor either by his own ingenuity upon consideration how the place was Situated, or out of his extraordinary experience, made this kind of Engine: He fasten'd great pieces of Timber together with Iron, in form of a square Tower, which he placed against the Castle Wall, till by degrees it was made as high; and into that same Tower he put Bowmen with Engineers that use to sling Darts and Stones. So that the *Per-*
sians

sians who were pelted on all sides, both by the besiegers, and those that were upon the Engine, were forced after a short resistance, at last to promise, they would surrender the Castle, if the Emperor would offer any reasonable Terms. And thereupon they agreed, that the *Per-*
sians, every man of 'em, which were within, should pass through the middle of the *Roman* Army untouched, and each of 'em have a certain sum of money, besides a Coat upon their surrendering the Castle to the Emperor. Which being perform'd, there were about five thousand men dismiss'd, besides what escaped in Long-Boats over the Water; and among the rest their Captain *Momosirus* went out at the same time. And when the Castle was thus taken, the Soldiers who sought for what might probably be left in it, found an immense quantity of Corn, all kind of Arms and Engines, together with Household furniture and other Provisions in abundance. All which they dispos'd of as they thought fit, only the greatest part of the Corn was put into the Ships to maintain the Soldiers, and the rest they divided among them over and above their ordinary allowance. And as for the Arms, as many of 'em as were fit for the *Roman* use were distributed among the Army; but those that were one-

ly adapted to the *Persian* manner of fighting were partly burnt and partly thrown down the River.

From this Action did the *Roman* glory receive no small addition; That so great a City, even the greatest in *Affyria* next to *Ctesiphon*, and so well fortified, should be taken by storm in onely two days. And for that reason the Emperor was very kind to his Soldiers, as he shew'd by a laudatory Speech that he made in their commendation, as much as it was convenient for him to say, and by the hundred pieces of Silver which he gave to each one of 'em. And so much for these Affairs: whilst in the mean time *Surenas*, coming with a great Army out of a Town in *Affyria*, surprised the *Roman* Scouts that went before the rest of the Army, kill'd one of the three Tribunes with some of his Soldiers, and put the rest to flight, so that he carry'd off an Ensign Military, which was like a Dragon, and such as the *Romans* use to carry in War. Which when the Emperor knew of he was very much troubled, and in a rage, just as he was, fell upon *Surenas*'s men, made 'em all run that could get away, re-took the Ensign which the Enemy had taken away, and coming immediately to the City, where *Surenas* had surprised the Scouts,

he

he storn'd, took, and burnt it. And as to the Captain of the Scouts; because he left his Ensign with the Enemy, preferring his safety before the bravery and honour of a *Roman*, he took away his Girdle from him, and look'd upon him as a scandalous, pitiful Fellow, as well as all the rest that ran away along with him.

But going forward over the River he came to a place near which there is a City called *Tiffenia*: about the Walls whereof there was a Ditch, which though it were very deep the *Persians* fill'd with a great deal of Water which they derived into it out of the neighbouring River, which is called *the Kings River*. But they pass'd this City without any stay (because there was nothing in it that had the face of hostility) and went through a place where there was an arrifcial Fenn, made out of a fancy which the *Persians* conceiv'd, that if they cut a Sluce for the River to come in, it was impossible for an Army to pass that way. Yet the Emperor running before (as much as men use to do over such a wet ground) the Army follow'd him, though they were up to the knees. For they could not for shame but do what they saw the Emperor did before 'em. But when the Sun was set, the Army rested hard by; whilst the Emperor

commanding some of his Soldiers and several Artificers to follow him, cut down Trees and Wood wherewith he made a Bridg over the Sluces, and throwing earth into the Fens fill'd up the deep places, and in some measure widen'd the streight passages. After which coming back he led his Army through with great facility, till he came to a Town called *Bithra*, in which there was a Palace and room e-nough to receive not onely the Emperor but his Army also.

But he departed thence too, and with the same pains as before, went before his men, making the way thereby more tolerable to 'em. And by this means he carry'd 'em all over with him, till he came to a place, where there was ne'r a House, but onely a Grove of Palm-trees; in which there were also Vines growing, that ran up to the top of the Palm-trees, and presented their Eyes with the sight of Palm-fruit mix'd with Grapes. And when he had spent the ensuing Night in this place, the next Morning he went forward. But coming too near to a certain Castle he had like to have receiv'd his Deaths-wound. For a *Perſian* that came out of the Castle with his Sword in his Hand strook full at the Emperors Head; which he foreseeing clap'd his Shield upon his Head

Head and so broke the blow. Upon which the Soldiers immediately fell aboard the *Perſian* and kill'd him together with all his Companions, except some few, that by chance escaped through the Enemies and fled into the Castle. And now the Emperor being extreamly enraged at this bold action, walk'd round the Castle to see if it were any where pregnable. But whilst he was busie about this Affair, *Surenas* set upon the Soldiers that remain'd in the Palm-grove before they were aware of him, as hoping by that means not only to get all their beasts of Burthen and Carriages, but to divert the Emperor from besieging the Castle, as soon as he heard of it; though he was deceiv'd in both parts of his Project. For the Emperour thought it a matter of great consequence to take the Castle; because there was a City near it called *Besuchis*, which was very populous; besides a great many other Castles, whose Inhabitants were fled away into that which the Emperor was a besieging because their own were not strong enough to protect 'em; excepting some that fled to *Cteſphon*, or hid themselves in the thickest part of the Grove.

Upon this account the Emperor laid close Siege to it; whilst in the mean time that part of the Army which was sent out

out to Scout or assist their own Party, if any Enemy appear'd, did not only defeat all those that opposed 'em, but killed some and made others shamefully run for their lives, insomuch that they secur'd the Emperor whilst the Siege lasted. And because some of those that fled had gotten into the Fens that are in the Grove, the Scouts did not spare even them neither, but kill'd some and took the rest Prisoners: whilst those that were besieged in the Castle kept off the Enemy with Darts of all sorts which they threw at 'em. And because they had no Stones within, they made Balls of Pitch which they set fire to and flung upon them; nor was it hard to hit them they aimed at, because they threw from above and at a great multitude together. Yet notwithstanding the *Roman* Soldiers, though they had the disadvantage of the lower ground, omitted no kind of Warlike Policy, or true Valour. For they threw and shot great Stones and Darts at the Enemy, not onely out of Bows but Engines also; and those so contrived, that they would hit not onely one, but two, three, or more at a time. But seeing the Castle stood upon an Hill, and was fortified with two Walls, sixteen great Towers and a deep Ditch about it, which at one part of it brought in

in Water for them that were in the Castle to drink, the Emperor bad the Soldiers get Earth enough and fill up the Ditch, and then raise a Mound upon it as high as one of the Towers. He likewise resolv'd to dig in another place through (under) the Wall toward the middle of the inner Wall, with intention to surprise the Enemy out of a Mine. But the Enemy hinder'd them that were to raise the Mound by continual flinging of Darts upon 'em; and therefore the Emperor himself undertook the main Battery by several contrivances for defence against either Darts or Fire-balls: but he left the care of the Mines and raising of the Mounds to *Nevita* and *Dagalaiphus*. Then giving *Victor* the Command of so many Foot and so many Horse, he order'd him to Scout out in all places betwixt that and *Ctesiphon*: and if any Enemy appear'd, with design to divert the Emperor from his Siege, that he should frustrate any such attempt by the help of those he had with him: and likewise that he should make the way from thence to *Ctesiphon*, by Bridges and other Methods more easie for him and his Army.

Having thus given his Captains their several Charges, he planted his Rams against a certain Gate, which he did not onely

onely shake but broke to pieces. And seeing those that had the care of the Mines committed to them, were lazy and did not mind their business, he removed them by way of Disgrace for their remissness, and substituted others in their places. After which he brought a second Ram before another Gate, which was not strong enough to bear the shock of it; when at the same time there came a Messenger to tell him, that they who were order'd to dig a Mine from the Ditch into the Town had done their work, and were just ready to spring in. Now the men concern'd were three Companies, that is to say, the *Mattiarii*, *Laccinarii*, and the *Victores*. But the Emperor kept a little in suspense, whilst he commanded an Engine to be brought with all speed against another Gate, where he planted all his Army: to make the Enemy believe, that on the morrow with that Engine he would take the Castle. For his Design indeed was, to keep the *Persians* from any thoughts of being surprised through a Mine. And therefore all those that were in the Castle were wholly intent upon destroying that Engine; whilst at the same time the Parties, who had the care of the Mines having dug quite through even to the Surface of the Earth, they came forth at mid-night in the

the middle of an House, where there was a Woman a grinding Corn; whom he that first appear'd immediately kill'd, because she was a going to cry out. His name, that did so, was *Superantius*, a notable Soldier in the Regiment of the *Victores*: and next to him came *Magnus*; then *Jovianus* a Tribune in the Regiment of the *Notarii*, with many more that follow'd 'em. And when by degrees the passage was made wider they were all got presently into the middle of the Town. From whence they ran to the Wall and surprised the *Persians*, who were singing after their Country fashion in praise of their own King's Valour, but condemning the *Roman* Emperors vain attempt: for they said he might sooner take *Jupiter*'s Palace than their Castle: till the *Romans* came upon 'em, and killing all they met with, by tumbling 'em down from the Wall, they pursu'd the rest and cut 'em off with all manner of Deaths; nor did they spare either Women or Children, except some few that they had a mind to make Slaves of. But *Anabdates*, the Governour of the Castle, being taken, as he ran through it, together with all his Guards which were eighty in number, was brought to the Emperor with his Hands bound. Now the

the Castle being thus taken by force and all the People in it, of what age soever, slain, except a few that were unexpectedly preserved, the Soldiers fell to plundering; and when they had taken all they could find they razed the Wall to the very ground with Engines which they planted against it. Nor did they stop there, but pull'd down and burn'd all the Houses in such a manner that no body could imagine there had been ever any there.

From hence he march'd on and pass'd by other Castles of no great Note, till he came to an enclosed Place which they call *the Kings Hunting [Chase,]* where there was a Wall, containing within it a large space of ground, planted with all sorts of Trees, in which there were all kinds of wild Beasts, which wanted no food, because it was brought in to 'em, and they were only kept for the King to Hunt when he pleased. Which when *Julian* saw, he order'd the Wall to be broken down in several places; and by that means the Soldiers shot the Deer as they ran by 'em. But besides this place he saw somewhere nigh unto it a Palace magnificently built after the *Roman* fashion: which when he heard was erected by the *Romans*, he left it,

it, and would not suffer the Tribunes to spoil any part of it, out of respect to the *Romans* who were said to be the Founders of it.

From hence when the Army had pass'd by several Castles, they came to a City of *Armenia* called *Sabatha*, which is thirty furlongs from that which was formerly called *Zochasa*, but is now *Seleucia*. And whilst the Emperor tarried with most part of his Army in a place near to it, the Scouts that went before had storm'd the Town. The next Day the Emperor walking about the Walls of it, he saw several Bodies hanging upon Gibbets before the Gates; whom the Natives said were the kinsmen of one that had been accused for betraying a Town of the *Persians* which the Emperor *Carus* had taken. And that put the Emperor in mind to summon *Anabdates* the Governor of the Castle, to his Trial; who though he had often deceiv'd the *Roman* Army, by his pretences to assist 'em in the War against *Persia*, yet he had then a fresh Crime laid to his Charge, for speaking scandalously of *Hormidas*, as, calling him Traitor before a great many People, and saying he was the cause of that Expedition against the *Persians*: for which he was taken and put to death.

Soon

The History Book III.

Soon after his Execution, the Army marching on *Arintheus* search'd all the Fens and finding a great many men in 'em, he took 'em Prisoners. But it was here, that the *Perſians* first muster'd up their Forces and set upon the Scouts that went before the Army; though they were soon routed, and glad to save their lives by flying into a neighbouring City. But the *Perſians* on the other side the River attaquaing the Servants that look'd to the Beasts of Burthen, and others also as many as they found with 'em, kill'd part of 'em and took the rest alive: which was the first los the *Romanis* happen'd to have had, and therefore put the Army in some kind of conſternation. From thence they removed to a certain Sluce or Channel which was very large, and cut (as the Country People ſay) by *Trajan*, when he made War againſt the *Perſians*: Into which the River *Narmalches* runs and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Tigris*. This therefore the Emperor caused to be cleaſ'd and ſearch'd, to make way for his Vefſels to paſs into the *Tigris*, and, if poſſible, to make Bridges for the carrying of his Army over. And whiſt these things were in agitation there, a great Body of *Perſians* upon the opposite Bank, both Horſe and Foot, were got together,

Book III. of Count ZOSIMUS.

gether, to hinder their paſſage if any ſuch thing were attempted. Which preparatiſon of the Enemy when the Emperor diſcover'd, he was extreamly eager to be over with 'em, and in a fury commanded his men to go aboard the Veffels. But they ſeeing the other Bank ſomewhat higher than ordinary, and beſides that a kind of an Hedg along it, which was formerly made for a fence to the King's Gardeп, but at that time ſerv'd for a Wall, they ſaid they were affraid of the Darts and Fire-balls which were thrown down from it. Whereupon the Emperor being very earnest with 'em, two Ships full of Foot Soldiers went over; which the *Perſians* preſently ſet on fire by throwing a great quantity of flaming Darts upon them. At which the Army was ſo much more diſmay'd, that the Emperor was fain to tell a lye to hide his etroure; *They, ſays he, are got ſafe over and have made themſelves maſters of the Bank: I know it by the fire that is in their Ships, which I order'd the Soldiers, that went over, to make in token of Victory.* Nor had he ſooner told 'em ſo, than, just as they were, they went into the Ships and over as fast as they could; till they came where they could wade, and then leaping into the Water, they engaged the *Perſians* ſo briskly that

they not onely got possession of the Bank, but also retrieved those two Ships which came over before, being now half burnt, and saved all the men that were left in them. And then the Armies fell upon each other so fiercely, that the Battel continu'd from twelve a Clock at Night till twelve a Clock at noon next Day ; till at length the *Perſians* gave way, and fled as fast as their Legs would carry 'em, their Captains being the firſt that began to run ; that is to ſay, *Pigraxes* (who was a Person of greatest Birth and Quality next to the King,) together with *Anareus* and *Surenas* himſelf. But the *Romans* and the *Gotbs* ran after 'em and kill'd a great many, from whom they took a deal of Gold and Silver, besides all kind of Ornaments either for Men or Horses, with Silver Beds and Tables, whatever they found which the Officers had left upon the Rampires. Now they reckon that in this Fight there fell of the *Perſians* twenty five hundred, and of the *Romans* not above seventy five. But Captain *Victor* ſeemed in ſome measure to abate the Armies joy for their Victory, by being wounded from an Engine.

The next Day the Emperor got his Army over the *Tigris* without any difficulty, and the third Day after the fight both

both himself and his Guards went after 'em. And coming to a certain place (which the *Perſians* call *Abuzatha*) he stay'd there five days, whilst he consulted concerning his Journey forward, and found, it was better to march farther into the Country than to lead his Army by the Rivers ſide, because there was now no necessity of their going by Water. And having conſider'd of it, he imparted his mind to the Army, whom he commanded to burn the Ships : and they accordingly were all consumed, except eighteen *Roman* and four *Perſian* Veffels, which were carry'd along in Waggons, to be made uſe of upon occaſion. And now, their way lying a little above the River, when they came to a place call'd *Noorda*, they made an Halt, where they kill'd and took a great number of *Perſians*. But from thence going forward to the River *Durus*, they made a Bridg over it for their own paſſage : and ſeeing the *Perſians* had burnt up all the forrage of the Countrey, ſo that the *Roman* Cattel were ready to starve for want of it ; as alſo, that they were gathered into ſeveral Companies to wait for the *Romans*, whom they imagined to be but few ; and then, ſoon after, drawn up into one Body, they made toward the River. Where whilſt the Scouts that went be-

fore the Army engaged with a Party of the *Perſians*, one *Macamæus*, a stout, brisk Blade, got among 'em and kill'd four, though they were naked. But for that bold act they all fell upon him and slew him. Which when his Brother *Maurus* saw, he ventur'd to rescue at least his dead Body from amidst the *Perſians*; and kill'd the Man that gave him the first Wound; nor did he give out, though he were frequently shot at, until he had brought his Brother off and deliver'd him to the Army, yet alive.

Afterward when they came to the City *Barrophtha*, they found the forage (as before) burnt up by the *Barbarians*: and seeing a Party of *Perſians* mix'd with *Saracens*, who durſt not ſo much as look upon the *Roman* Army, but were immediately gone, the *Romans* could not tell what to think of it, till the *Perſians* by gathering themſelves into a conſiderable Body, made the *Romans* believe they had a deſign upon their Cattel of Burthen. Whereupon the Emperour was the firſt that putting on a Coat of Mail march'd toward 'em with more ſpeed than all the rest of the Army. But the *Perſians*, not able to endure the ſhock of his Charge, thought beſt to fly into ſuch places as they well knew. And ſo the Emperour went

went on to a place called *Symbra*, that lies between two Towns whose names are *Nisbara* and *Nischanabe*, which are ſeparated from each other by the *Tigris*; though the Townsmen have frequent and eaſie intercourse by a Bridg over that River. But that Bridg the *Perſians* burn'd down, leſt the *Romans* by help of it ſhould do 'em both as much injury as they pleased. And here it was that the Scouts who went a foraging before the rest, defeated the *Perſian* forces as ſoon as they ſaw 'em; whilſt the Army finding great plenty of provisions in the Town, took what they had occaſion for and destroy'd the rest.

From thence they march'd to a place between the Cities of *Danabe* and *Synca*, where the *Perſians* ſet upon the Rear of their Army and kill'd a great many, but lost more and ran away, as having the worst of it upon ſeveral accounts. For in this fight one *Daces*, a great Satrape [a Nobleman of *Perſia*] was kill'd: being the ſame Person that formerly had gone Embaſſador to the Emperor *Constantius*, to treat of Peace and make an end of the War. But when the Enemies ſaw, that the *Romans* came near to a Town call'd *Acceta*, they burn'd up the fruits of the

Courtrey ; till the *Romans* ran in and by quenching the fire, saved what was left for their own use.

In their march from this place they came to a Town called *Maronfa*; where the *Perſians* again attaqued the Rere-guard of their Army, and in the Engagement kill'd one *Brettanis* (among the rest) who was Captain of a Troop and fought bravely. They also took ſeveral Ships, which fell in their way by being a great deal behind the Army. But from thence the *Romans* paſſing haſtily along by certain Villages, came to a place called *Tummara*; where they all repented the burning of their Ships. For the Cattel were not able to carry all their neceſſaries, they were ſo tired with travelling in an Enemies Country ; and then the *Perſians* got all the forage that they could, and laid it up in their best fortified places that the *Roman* Army might not come at it. And when they were in this condition they ſaw the *Perſian* Army ; with whom they engaged, and having much the better of it, they kill'd a great many of the *Perſians*. But the day after about the time when it was full *Change* [about noon] the *Perſians* drew up in a great Body and fell upon the Rear of the *Roman* Army once more ;

who

who being at that time out of their Ranks, were ſurprized and ſtartled at the ſuddenness of the attaque, but yet they made a very brisk defence, whilſt the Emperor went round about the Army (as he uſed to do) encouraging them to stand boldly to it. And when by that means they were all engaged, the Emperor who went one while to the Captains and Tribunes, and another while was among the common Soldiers, received a Wound with a Sword in the very heat of the Battel, and being laid upon a Shield was carried to his Tent, where he lived till Midnight and then died, after he had almost ruined the *Perſian* Empire.

Now whilſt the Emperors death was conceal'd, the *Roman* Army had ſo much the better of it, that fifty of the greatest *Satrapes* [*Perſian* Nobles] were slain, beſides an infinite number of ordinary men. But when the Emperors death was diſcover'd, and the Soldiers came back to the Tent where his dead Body lay, ſome few of the *Romans* indeed fought on, and conquer'd their Enemies ; whilſt certain Companies coming out of a *Perſian* Gardeſon engaged with them that were under the Command of *Hormidas*. And after a ſmart Battel, *Antonius* fell, who was Captain of the Court-Guards, and call'd

by the *Romans* [*Magister Officiorum*.] And at the same time *Salutius*, the Preect of the Court, who fell from his Horse, had like to have been kill'd by the Enemies, who were just upon him, if one of his Servants had not alighted and made way for his escape. With whom also those two Legions that were about the King and are called the *Scutarii* [Shield-men] gave way. But out of those that turn'd their backs there were onely sixty Men, who being concern'd for their own and their Countreys honour exposed themselves to death, till they had taken that Castle, from whence the *Perians* sallying out upon the *Romans* had seemed to have gotten the Day. And though it was after besieged three days together by the Enemies, yet those within were preserv'd by a considerable Party that set upon the besiegers. But afterward there was an Assembly summon'd, both of the Nobility and Soldiery, to consult, who ought to succeed in the Empire; because it was impossible for 'em to avoid those dangers that might happen in the middle of an Enemies Country without a Governor. Where they Voted that *Jovianus* should be Emperor, who was the Son of *Varronianus*, Tribune of the *Domestici* Forces.

Now

Now all that was done till *Julian's* death is just as I have told you. But when *Jovian* had put on the Purple and the Diadem, he went homeward as fast as he could. And when he came to the Castle of *Suma*, the *Persian* Horse fell upon him not onely themselves, but also with Elephants that they brought thither in great numbers, and did a deal of hurt in the Right Wing of his Army, where the *Joviani* and the *Herculiani* were posted. Which two appellations of *Joviani* and *Herculiani* belong to two Legions that were so called from *Diocletianus* and *Maximianus*, the one of whom surnamed himself *Jove*, and the other *Hercules*. And though at first they could not sustein the shock of the Elephants, but were forced, many of 'em, to fly and fall by the way, yet when the *Perians* came up against 'em with their Horse and Elephants together, they happen'd to come into a rising ground where the *Roman* Carriages lay and those that look'd after 'em: who being now made sharers in the danger assisted 'em by throwing Darts from above upon the *Perians*, wherewith they wounded their Elephants. Which when the Elephants felt, immediately as their manner is, they ran away roaring and put the Horse all out of

of order: so that the Soldiers kill'd not onely the Elephants, as they fled, but many also of the Enemies died in the Conflict. There died also of the *Roman* side three Tribunes, who had fought bravely, to wit *Julianus*, *Maximianus*, and *Macrobius*. And when they had sought among the dead, and found the body of *Anatolius*, they gave him as honourable a Funeral as the time would then permit, when the Enemy was round about 'em.

And having so done they march'd on four days, being continually harass'd by the Enemy, who follow'd 'em if they went forward, but fled away if the *Romans* made any resistance; till at length having got a good way from 'em they resolv'd to cross the *Tigris*. To which purpose they tied bottles together in rows like Yokes, and upon them went over. And when they were most of 'em gotten upon the opposite Bank, then the Captains came safe over with the rest. Yet for all this the *Perians* would not leave 'em, but follow'd close with a great Army wherever they went; so that the *Romans* were in perpetual danger both from their ill circumstances, of Place and Persons, and also from their want of Provisions. But though this were the state of the *Roman*

man Army, yet the *Perians* were willing to treat for a Peace, and sent *Surenas* with other Officers to the *Roman* Camp about it. Which when *Jovian* heard of he sent *Salustius*, Prefect of the Court together with *Arinthæus* to 'em, who after some mutual Discourses about the Affair, made a Truce for thirty years. But it was agreed between 'em both that the *Romans* should deliver up the Country of the *Radiceni* to the *Perians*, as also that of the *Cardueni*, *Rhemeni*, and *Zaleni*, beside fifteen Castles that were there, with their Inhabitants, Lands, Cattel and all their Goods: but that they should surrender *Nisibis* without its Inhabitants, because they were to be transplanted into what Colony the *Romans* pleased. But the *Perians* also took away from the *Romans* a great part of *Armenia* and left 'em but small share in it. Now therefore when the Truce was made upon these terms and confirm'd by Instruments on both sides, the *Romans* thereby had opportunity to return home in quiet, so that the two Parties neither offer'd nor receiv'd any damage one to or from the other, by open force or Ambuscade.

But now that I am come to this part of the History, it puts me in mind of looking back into former Ages, to enquire,

quire, whether the *Romans* ever gave away any of their Dominions to other Nations, or ever suffer'd any one to possess what they had once Conquer'd. For when *Luc. Lucullus* had defeated *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, and had first made the whole Country even to the middle of *Armenia*, and *Nisibis* it self an addition to the *Roman Empire*, besides the adjacent Castles; then *Pompey* the Great to Crown all his great Deeds, establish'd and confirm'd the possession of them to the *Romans* by a Peace which he made. And when upon another Commotion in *Perzia*, the Senate chose *Crassus* for their Plenipotentiary and General, who by his ill Conduct has left a blot ever since upon the *Roman Name*, because he was taken Prisoner and died in *Perzia*, *Antonius* was made the General; but being in love with *Cleopatra*, he was very remiss and careless in all Warlike Affairs; insomuch that he also went off with some things charged upon him unworthy of the *Roman Name*. And yet though the *Romans* had all these mischances, and miscarriages they did not lose so much as one of those Provinces. Nay when their Republick was turn'd into a Monarchy, and *Augustus* made *Tigris* and *Euphrates* the limits of the *Roman Empire*, even that did not deprive them of

of this Country: But so far it was from that, as on the contrary, a great while after when *Gordianus* the Emperor fought against the *Perians*, and was kill'd in the middle of the Enemies Country, the *Perians* were not able even after that Victory to gain any thing upon the *Roman Dominions*; no not when *Philip* was Emperor, who made a most dishonourable Peace with the *Perians*. And not long after, when the *Perian* Fire had enflamed all the East, and that great City *Antioch* was taken, so that the *Perian* Army march'd as far as *Cilicia*, *Valerianus* the Emperor undertook an Expedition against 'em, and though he were taken by 'em yet they durst not pretend to be Masters of these Countreys. Only the death of the Emperor *Julian* was cause enough for us to lose 'em, and that so irrevocably, that the *Roman Emperors* could never recover any part of 'em even to this day, but by degrees have lost more and more still, of which some have made themselves perfectly free, others have surrender'd themselves to *Barbarians*, and others have been almost quite deserted: all which I will demonstrate in the progress of this History as they severally happened.

But

But to return from whence I have digress'd.-- When this Peace was made with the *Persians* in the manner that I have told you, *Jovianus* the Emperor and his Army were coming home securely, but met with many difficulties through the roughness of the Way and want of Water, besides his loss of many Men in the Enemies Country through which he pass'd; wherefore he sent *Mauricius*, a Tribune, and commanded him to bring Provisions for his Army from *Nisibis*, and meet 'em with it as far off as he could. He also sent others into *Italy* to tell of *Julian's* death and how he himself was declared Emperor. And when he was come with a great deal of pains and much ado near unto *Nisibis*, he would not go into the Town because it was surrender'd to the Enemy, but lay all night in a *Piazza* before the Gate, and the next morning receiv'd the Crowns and Complements that were offer'd to him, whilst all the Townsmen besought him, that he would not forsake them, and force 'em to degenerate into Barbarism, who for so many Ages had lived under the *Roman* Laws. Besides, they told him it was a dishonour to him, that *Constantius*, who had been engaged in three *Persian* Wars and was defeated in every one of 'em, had notwithstanding

ing always protected *Nisibis*, and even when it was besieged and in extreme danger, done all he could to save it, and yet that he, when there was no such necessity for it, should give up the City to the Enemy, and shew the *Romans* such a day, as they had never seen before, as being forced to suffer such a Town and such a Country to be surrender'd to an Enemy. Which when the Emperor heard, he excused his not complying with their desires by telling 'em what Articles he had enter'd into: and then *Sabinus*, who was the chief Man of their Council [their Recorder] went on with what the People had said before by way of Petition, and told him farther, That they wanted neither Money to carry on a War against *Perſia*, nor any forein Aid, but that they were able with their own Bodies and their own Purſes to defend themselves from any War that should be waged against 'em: and likewise assur'd him, that whenever they were Victorious and had regain'd their Liberty, they would again be ſubject to the *Romans* and obey their Commands as formerly they had done. To which when the Emperor reply'd, that he could not break his Covenants, the Townsmen beg'd of him a thousand times that he would not

not deprive the *Roman Empire* of such a Bulwark as that was. But all was in vain, and away the Emperor went in a fury; whilst the *Perians* desired to have possession of the Countreys, Castles, and of that City according to the Conditions agreed upon. And thereupon the Inhabitants of some Countreys and Castles, that could not privately escape, let the *Perians* do with them what they pleased; but the *Nisibini*, having gained some time to prepare for their removal, they went, most of 'em, to *Amida*, though some few inhabited in other Towns. But all places were full of lamentation and mourning, because they thought themselves expos'd to the incursions of the *Perians*, now *Nisibis* was surrend'red to them. And among others the *Carreni* were so sorry when they heard of *Julian's* death, that they stoned him to death who brought the news, and threw a great heap of Stones upon his Carcass; so great an alteration of Affairs was one mans death then able to create.

But *Jovianus* therefore march'd through the Towns with all speed, because they were so full of grief that they could not give him one pleasant look, (which is the custom and nature of those People) and taking

taking along with him as many Soldiers as belong'd to the Imperial Guard, he went to *Antioch*; whilst the whole Army attended upon *Julian's* Body, which was carry'd into *Cilicia* and buried in a Royal Sepulchre in the Suburbs of *Tarsus*; upon whose Tombstone there is this Inscription;

*Julian has Tigris left and here he lies
A Warlike Prince, just, valiant, and wise.*

And now *Jovian*, being mindful of his Imperial Affairs, disposed of other matters, and among the rest sent *Lucillianus* his Father-in-law, *Procopius*, and *Valentinian* (who was afterward Emperor) to the Armies in *Pannonia*; to tell 'em of *Julian's* Death, and how that he was chosen Emperor. But the *Batavi* that were at *Sirmium*, and were left there for a Guard to it, as soon as they heard the news, they kill'd *Lucillianus* who brought 'em such ill tidings, without any regard to that Relation which he had to the Emperor. But they let *Procopius* go untouched, out of the respect they bore to *Julian's* Kindred; whilst *Valentinian* made his escape and deliver'd himself from that Death, which they intended to inflict

upon him. But when *Jovianus* was going from *Antioch* toward *Constantinople*, he was taken sick of a sudden at *Dadastana* in *Bithynia*, and died after he had been Emperor onely eight months ; in which so short a time he was not able to do any signal Service to the publick. And when he was dead , there was a Consultation proposed , concerning who should be his Successor, which occasion'd a great variety of Discourse and of several Persons , among the Soldiers as well as Officers ; till at length they all with one accord pitch'd upon *Salustius*, Prefect of the Court. But he pretending he was too old and therefore could not serve 'em in those their ill circumstances, they desired his Son might be Emperor in his stead. But he told 'em, that his Son was young, and upon that as well as other accounts unfit to undergo the weight of an Imperial Diadem ; so that they miss'd the choice of such a Man , who was the best in that Age. Upon which reason they voted for *Valentinian*, who was born at *Cibalis*, in *Pannonia*, and an excellent Souldier but no Scholar at all. However they sent for him, being then at some distance ; nor did the Common-wealth long want an Head.

Head. And when he came to the Army at *Nicea* in *Bithynia*, he there took upon him the Imperial Authority, and march'd forward.

A New
HISTORY.
Written by
Count *ZOSIMUS*,
Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Fourth Book.

HOW things were managed until *Jovian's* death, after whom *Valentinian* was chosen Emperor, you may find in the foregoing Book; [but we have not yet inform'd you, that] whilst *Valentinian* was on his way toward *Constantinople*, he fell sick of a Distemper, which to his native, cholerick humour added much cruelty and even madness it self;

self; insomuch that he, though falsely, suspected the reason of his Illness to proceed from some Charm or Poison that *Julian's* friends had out of malice prepar'd. And upon that ground there were Accusations drawn up against some great Men, which the Prefect of the Court, who as yet was *Salustius*, by his discretion and prudence took off. But after his Distemper abated he left *Nicæa* and came to *Constantinople*. Where when the Army and his other friends advised him to choose himself a Partner in the Empire, that if there should be occasion, he might have some body to assist him, and not let them suffer as they did at *Julian's* death; he took their Counsel, and having consider'd of it, chose, among all that he could think of, his Brother *Valens*, who, he thought, would prove most faithful to him. Him, therefore he declared his Partner in the Empire. And whilst they both lived at *Constantinople*, all those who were Enemies to *Julian's* friends, continually gave out at Court, that such and such Persons had a Design upon the Emperors, and made the brutish Rabble also roar it out. Upon which the Emperors, who for other reasons hated all *Julian's* Acquaintance, were raised to a greater degree of animosity, and therefore invented such Charges against

against 'em, as had no shew of reason in them. Particularly, *Valentinian* was very severe upon *Maximus* the Philosopher, who had formerly indicted him, in *Julian's* time, for prophaning or neglecting holy things upon the score of Christianity. But their care and concernment for Affairs both Civil and Military at that time drew 'em off from these kind of things.

Then did they apply themselves to making of Governors over the several Nations, and consulted who should have the charge of the Palace. By which means all who had been Governors of Countries, or in any other Office under *Julian* were turned out: among them, *Salustius*, Prefect of the Court, Only *Arintheus* and *Victor* continued in their Military Commands, which they had before, as Captains, whilst others who had a desire for this or that preferment, got it by mere chance. And this indeed was the only reasonable thing which they seemed to do: for if any of the Officers were found guilty upon just Informations against 'em, they suffer'd most certainly beyond all hopes of a pardon.

When things were thus settled, *Valentinian* thought fit, since he and his Brother were Partners, to put the East Countries

as far as *Egypt*, *Bithynia*, and *Thrace* under his care, and take charge of *Illyricum* himself. From whence he design'd to go over into *Italy*, and to keep all the Cities there, together with the Nations beyond the *Alps*, all *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa* in his own hands. And when the Empire was thus divided *Valentinian* began to be more severe in his Government, correcting the Errors of the several Magistrates, being very rigorous in collecting the Taxes, and seeing that the Soldiers had their due out of 'em. But because he resolv'd likewise to set forth certain Laws, he began at home (as they say) and forbud the nocturnal Sacrifices: intending thereby to restrain and hinder a great many ill actions. And yet when *Prætextatus*, Proconsul of *Greece*, who was a person adorn'd with all Virtues, told him that the *Greeks* could never live under such a Law, whereby they were kept from performing those most Sacred Mysteries, that were the very bond of humane Society, he suffer'd 'em to be perform'd according to Order, without any regard to his own Law, and took care every thing should be done after the ancient custom of the Country.

In

In the mean time the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine*, who as long as *Julian* lived, still fear'd the *Roman* Name, and were content to be quiet in their own Dominions, as soon as they heard of his Death, immediately march'd out of their Country and were prepared for a War against the *Romans*. Which when *Valentinian* heard, he dispos'd of Forces both Horse and Foot with those also that wore light Armour, as it was fit he should, and put convenient Garrisons in all the several Towns upon the *Rhine*. But these things were thus order'd by *Valentinian* because he had some skill in Military Affairs: whilst *Valens* was beset with troubles on every side, who having lived an unactive life and come to the Empire of a sudden could not sustein the weight of busines. For not only the *Perians*, who were proud of their condition which was much better since the Truce made by them and *Jovian*, and made inroads upon the Country without controul, since *Nisibis* was subject to 'em, by disturbing the Eastern Towns constrain'd the Emperor to go against 'em, and at that very time when he parted from *Constantinople* did the Rebellion of *Procopius* break out. For him *Julian* had trusted with some part of his Forces, as being akin to him, and given him charge, that

that he and *Sebastianus* should go through *Adiabene*, and meet *Julian* who went against the Enemy another way : and gave him leave to wear an Imperial Robe for a reason that no body else knew of. But when it had pleas'd God to order things another way, and that *Jovian* had succeeded *Julian* in the Imperial Throne, *Procopius* ran immediately and delivered the Imperial Garment, that was given to him, to *Jovian*, confessing why he received it, and intreating the Emperor to absolve him from his Military Oath, and let him live at quiet, that he might mind nothing else but Husbandry and his own private business. Which having obtain'd he went to *Cesarea*, in *Cappadocia*, with his Wife and Children ; because he resolv'd to live in that place, where he had a good Estate. But whilst he stay'd there, *Valentinian* and *Valens* being chosen Emperors and having formerly had a suspicion of him, they sent immediately to take him. Nor was there any difficulty in that , for he surrender'd himself up to 'em, and bad let 'em carry him whither they pleas'd, so they would but suffer him to speak with his Wife and see his Children first. Which they consenting to, he prepared a Feast for 'em, and when he saw they were Drunk, he and all his Family made their escape

escape toward the *Euxine Sea*: whence he took shipping and went over into *Chersonesus Tauriana*. And having stay'd there some time, he found the Inhabitants to be a faithless sort of people, which made him fear, lest one time or other they would deliver him up to those that sought for him ; and therefore seeing a Merchant Ship sail by, he put himself and Family on board of it and in the Night-time arrived at *Constantinople*. Where lodging at an old Acquaintant's House of his , and considering the State of the City since the Emperor's departure, he attempted to make himself Emperor, and this was the foundation of his Design.

There was a certain Eunuch, called *Eugenius*, not long before turn'd out of the Court, who had no great love for the Emperors. Him therefore *Procopius* made his friend, because he found him very Rich, and told him who he was, why he came thither and how things ought to be managed. Whereupon, the Eunuch having promised him to bear a part in all Attempts whatever , and to lend him Money, if he wanted it ; the first thing they undertook was, with Money to corrupt the City-Guards , which consisted of two Legions. And then arming the Slaves and mustering up with ease a vast multitude

The History Book IV.

tude of Men, who were many of 'em Voluntiers, they sent 'em, in the Night, into the City, and made a general disturbance; for that the people came every one out of their severall Houses and gazed upon *Procopius* as if he had been a King made of a sudden in a Play. But the City being all in an uproar, and no Man in his right mind, or that could tell what to do by reason of the surprise, *Procopius* thought he was yet undiscover'd by a great many, and that he might secure the Power to himself, if the busines were but so far unreveal'd. Then having taken *Cesarius*, whom the Emperors had made Prefect of the City, and *Nebridius*, to whom they had committed the Government of the Court after *Salustius*, he forced 'em to write to the Subjects of the Empire whatever he pleased. But he also kept 'em asunder, that they might not advise with one another. And when he had contrived things thus, he went toward the Court in a splendid manner, where getting up upon a Tribunal before the Gate, he fill'd all people with hopes and large promises, and then march'd into the Palace to take care for the remaining part of his Affairs.

And because the new Emperors had divided the Army between 'em, *Procopius* thought

Book IV. of Count ZOSIMUS.

thought it requisite to send certain persons to the Soldiers, who were yet in Disorder, and went by the Emperor's Command, from place to place as they pleased, to bring over as many as they could to his Party. Nor did they fail with ease to accomplish their Design, by giving Money to them and their Officers: insomuch that they muster'd up a considerable number, and made themselves ready openly to set upon the Enemy. After which *Procopius* sent *Marcellus* with an Army into *Bitynia* to take *Serenianus* and the Imperial Horse that he had with him, in hopes to destroy 'em. But they flying to a Town called *Cyzicum*, *Marcellus* took it, as being too strong for 'em both by Sea and Land; and having caught *Serenianus* who was fled into *Lydia*, he put him to Death. With which first lucky hit *Procopius* was so exalted that he raised more Men by degrees, and was able in the Opinion of many people to fight the Emperors; for both the *Roman* Legions, and the *Barbarian* Forces flock'd to him. And then besides the very honour of being akin to *Julian*, and having been his Fellow-Soldier in all the Wars that he was ever engaged in, drew people to his Party. Nor was that all, but he likewise sent certain

Noble-

Noblemen to the Prince of *Scythia* which lies beyond *Ister*, who contributed ten thousand Men to fight in his service. So also did the other Barbarous Nations send in their *Quota*, to make themselves sharers in the Expedition. But yet *Procopius* consider'd that it was not fit for him to engage with both the Emperors together, and therefore thought it the best way to fight him first that was nearest, and then consult farther, what was to be done.

And thus was *Procopius* employ'd : whilst the Emperor *Valens*, who heard of this Rebellion at *Galatia* in *Phrygia* was frighted at the news and fill'd with consternation. But *Arbitio* bad him have a good heart, and then he made those Men that he had, ready for the War ; and sent likewise to his Brother, to let him know what Designs *Procopius* had in hand. But *Valentinian* did not think fit to send Auxiliaries to him who was not able to defend that Empire which was committed to him. So *Valens* was fain to prepare for a fight, and made *Arbitio* General of his Army against *Procopius*. But when the Armies were just ready to engage, *Arbitio* circumvented *Procopius* by a stratagem, and brought over a great number of his

his Men, from whom he learn'd beforehand whatever *Procopius* design'd to do. And when the Emperor and *Procopius* came toward each other, the two Armies met near *Thyatira*: where *Procopius* had like to have had the better on't, and made him sole Lord of all, because *Hormisdas* (which was his Father's name too) seemed in the fight to be too many for the Enemy. But *Gomarius*, another of *Procopius*'s Captains, imparting his intention to all *Procopius*'s Soldiers that loved the Emperor, cry'd out in the midst of the fight, *Augustus*, with a shout, and gave the signal for all the rest to do the same; so that all *Procopius*'s Men went over to *Valens*.

And he as soon as he had gotten the Victory march'd to *Sardeis*, and thence into *Phrygia*, where in a Town called *Nacolia* he found *Procopius*; and there again one *Naplo*, a Captain of *Procopius*, having order'd every thing for the Emperors advantage, *Valens* had much the better of him ; insomuch that he took the Traitor, and, not long after him, *Marcellus*, whom he put both to Death. But finding an Imperial Robe in *Marcellus*'s possession that was given him by *Procopius*, he was so angry at it, that he fell foul upon all and inquired after not one ly

ly those that were Actors in the Rebellion, but those also that were Counsellers in it, or so much as heard any thing of it, which they did not presently discover. By which means he was very severe upon all sorts of Men, without any justice; whilst all that either conspired or were but even kinsmen or friends of the Conspirators, though otherwise altogether innocent, were sacrificed to the Emperours fury.

Now this being the state of Affairs in that part of the Empire, which was allotted to *Valens*, the Emperor *Valentinian*, who dwelt in the Countries beyond the *Alps*, fell into very great and unexpected dangers. For all *Germany* recollecting what they had suffer'd in those Days when *Julian* was a *Cesar*, as soon as they heard of his Death, shook off all fear from their Souls, and resuming their natural audacity they went one and all and invaded the Countries that were subject to the *Roman Empire*. Where when the Emperor met 'em, they had a smart Battel, in which the *Barbarians* won the Day and put the *Roman Army* to a shameful flight. But *Valentinian* was resolv'd he would not run away to save his life; and therefore bore the fortune of the fight with seeming satisfaction, till he had found out who

who were the cause of their misfortune by beginning first to fly. And having made strict enquiry so as at last to prove the *Batavian Legion* guilty of it, he order'd all the Army to come together in all their habiliments of War, as if they had been to hear some Speech that might have been for their instruction in some matter of consequence. And when they came, he made such an Oration to 'em, as brought perpetual shame upon them that began to fly; and commanded that the *Batavi* should be strip'd of their Arms and sold for fugitive slaves to any publick Colony or Plantation. Whereupon they all fell flat upon the ground and begg'd of him not to inflict so shameful a punishment upon his Soldiers, promising that hereafter they would shew themselves men and worthy of the *Roman Name*. To which he comply'd, and bid 'em shew by their actions, they meant what they said; whilst they arose from the Earth, and arming themselves, as they ought to do, they renew'd the fight, and going without the Trench shew'd such alacrity and courage, that of an infinite number of *Barbarians* there were but few went home again. And thus the War against all *Germany* ended at that time.

Q

But

But the Emperor *Valens*, having put many men to death after *Procopius*'s death and confiscated the goods of many more, was hinder'd from his expedition into *Persia* by a party of *Scythians*, that live beyond the *Ister*, who infested the *Roman Territories*. Against whom he sent out a competent number of men and stopp'd their progress; nor onely so, but forced 'em to surrender their Arms, and sent 'em to inhabit in several Towns of his, that lie upon the *Ister*: with Orders, that they should be kept in a Prison without Chains. Now these were the Men that the *Scythian* Prince had sent *Procopius* as Auxiliaries to him, and therefore when he desired of the Emperor that they might be dismiss'd, because they were sent at the request of Embassadors from him who had then the power in his hands, the Emperor *Valens* would by no means hearken to it. For, he said, they were neither sent to him nor taken as friends, but as Enemies: which was the cause of the *Scythian* War. But when the Emperor perceiv'd the Enemy had some thoughts of invading the *Roman Dominions*, and that upon the same account they were muster'd up together with all speed, he drew his Army up along the bank of *Ister*, and lying himself at *Marcianople* (which is the biggest City in

in all *Thrace*) he took care both of his Armies being well exercised, and also that they wanted no provisions. At which time also he made *Auxonius* Prefect of the Court, *Salustius* having leave to lay down his Commission by reason of his Age, after he had been twice in that same Office. *Auxonius* therefore, though such a dangerous War was at hand, was not onely just in collecting the Tributes, and seeing that no Man was oppres'd beyond what was his right and due to pay; but he likewise got a great many Ships of burthen, wherein he carry'd the Soldiers provisions through the *Euxine Sea* as far as the mouth of the *Ister*, and thence by Boats convey'd it to the several Towns upon the River-side, so that the Army might easily be supply'd.

But after these things were thus transacted in the Winter-time, the Emperor in the beginning of the Spring march'd out of *Marcianople*, and going over into the Enemies Country with those Soldiers, that were engarrison'd about the *Ister*, he attaqued the *Barbarians*. But they not daring to fight a pitch'd Battel, absconded themselves in the Fens, from whence they made secret fallies; and therefore he ordered his Men to stand their ground, whilst he muster'd up all the Servants a-

bout the Camp, with all those that had the charge of the Carriages, and promised to give that Man such a sum of Money who brought him the head of a *Barbarian*. Whereupon they were all in hopes to get the Money; and going into the Fens and the Woods kill'd all they met, and bringing the heads of those that were slain receiv'd the Sum appointed. By which means there were such a multitude destroy'd, that the rest petition'd the Emperor for a Truce. Nor did he reject their desire, but a Peace was made between them, which was no dishonour to the *Roman* Name. For it was agreed that the *Romans* should enjoy with all security whatever they formerly had, and the *Barbarians* were forbid to pass the River or come at all into the *Roman* Dominions.

Having made this Peace, he went to *Constantinople*, where seeing the Prefect of the Court was dead, he gave *Modestus* the Place; and when he had so done, made haste toward the War in *Persia*.

But whilst he was employ'd in his preparations for that, the Emperor *Valentinian*, having put the *German* Affairs into a good posture, thought fit to make provision for the future security of the *Celtick* Countries. To which end he raised a vast multitude of young Men both of the *Barbarians*

Barbarians near the *Rhine* and of the Husbandmen that lived in Countries subject to the *Romans*; all whom he muster'd among the Legionary Soldiers, and disciplin'd them so well, that out of meer dread of that skill and experience in military Affairs, there was not one of all those who live beyond the *Rhine*, who durst attempt the Cities which were under the *Romans*, for nine years together; About which time one *Valentinian* was banish'd for some misdemeanours into the Island of *Britain*, where whilst he endeavoured to make himself absolute, he lost his hopes and his life together. And *Valentinian* the Emperor also fell sick of a Distemper, which had like to have cost him his life: but yet he recover'd, and then the Courtiers came about him, desiring that he would declare who should be his Successor, lest any thing should happen to befall him, and thereby the Commonwealth be endamaged. To whom the Emperor assented, and declared his Son *Gratianus* Emperor and his Partner in the Government, though he were young, and not yet ripe of Age.

But the Affairs of the West being in this condition, the Emperor *Valens* prepared to go for the East against the *Perians*,

whither he was first bound. And as he went gently onward, he assisted the Towns that sent Embassadors to him as much as was convenient: besides his doing many other good actions, and easily granting their requests to all such as made just Demands. And when he came to *Antioch* he order'd all matters relating to the War with great caution and security; but having stay'd the Winter-season in the Palace there, he went in the Spring to *Hierapolis*; from whence he led his Army against the *Persians*, and when Winter came again return'd to *Antioch*. And thus was the War against the *Persians* protracted. But whilst the Emperor was at *Antioch*, there happen'd an unusual accident which was this. There was one *Theodorus* among the rest of the Imperial Notaries, a Person well born and bred, but very young and easily drawn into Vice by the glavering delusions of dissembling Knaves, as being in the heat and vigour of his Age. Him therefore did a parcel of such Fellows set upon, and persuaded him that they were excellent Scholars; particularly that, by their skill in Divination, which they very well understood, they could foretell things to come; and having enquired who should be Emperor after *Valens*, they had

had set up a *Tripos*, which in a secret manner revealed to them what was to come: and furthermore, that in that *Tripos* there appear'd the Letters *S. e o.* and *s.* [i.e. *Theod.*] which did as good as say in plain terms that *Theodorus* should succeed *Valens* in the Empire.

With these fooleries he was so taken, that he was mighty desirous to be continually conversant with Juglers and Conjurers, consulting what was to be done; but was complain'd of to the Emperor, who made him suffer for it according to his desert. After which there was also another accident. One *Fortunatianus*, who was the Emperors Treasurer, had sentenced one of his Soldiers to be whip'd for Sorcery; who having been put to the Torture and forced to accuse some others that were his Accomplices, the Trial was removed before *Modestus* who was Prefect of the Court, because there were some persons brought in, that were not subject to the former Judges jurisdiction. For Justice and Judgment take place among all sorts of Men; and the Emperor, who was extreamly incensed, suspected all the most famous Philosophers, or any other persons that were bred up to Learning, besides some Men of Quality in the Court, who were accus'd as Conspirators against

the Empire. And upon this score all places were full of weeping and lamentation; for all the Prisons were cram'd with Men that did not deserve to be in them, and there were more Men upon the Roads, than were left in the Cities. Nay, the very Guards that were set to keep the Prisons where such poor Innocents lay, confess themselves unable to secure those that were under their charge, and were afraid lest they should one time or other escape from 'em by meer force, they were so many. And in this case the Informers went off without any danger, being onely forced to accuse others; whilst the convicted were sometimes put to death without lawful proof, and some of 'em lost their Estates, insomuch that their Wives, Children, and other Relations were reduced to extream necessity. For the Design was by these several wicked arts to raise a great sum of Money for the Treasury. Now the first great Philosopher that was taken off, was *Maximus*; and after him *Hilarius* of *Phrygia*, who had plainly interpreted some obscure Oracle, with *Simonides*, *Patricius* the *Lydian*, and *Andronicus* of *Caria*, who were all men of incomparable Learning, and condemn'd rather out of envy than by any just proceeding. Whereby all things were in so great a confusion,

that

that the Informers and the Rabble along with 'em would go without controul into any mans House, rifle all they met, and deliver 'em to those that were appointed to kill 'em all without hearing what they could say for themselves. And of these Rogues one *Festus* was the Ring-leader, whom the Emperor, knowing to be very ready at all kind of cruelty, had sent Pro-consul into *Asia*, that no learned Man might be left alive, but his Design might succeed. For *Festus* having made what search he could, kill'd all that he found without any tryal of 'em, and forced the rest to fly their Country.

Now the calamity which befell the Cities upon the account of *Theodorus* was thus removed. Whilst *Valentinian* who thought he had pretty well managed the *German* War, was very severe upon his Subjects, in exacting of Tributes, and extorting from 'em much more than ever they used to pay. Though he pretend-ed that the Military expences forced him to lay out Money from the publick Stock. And thus having caused every body to hate him, he was more bitter than before: nor would he either inquire whether the Magistrates kept themselves from bribery, but envy'd all that had the reputation of leading a blameless life. And, to speak plainly,

plainly, he was quite another man from what he appear'd to be at the beginning of his Reign. For which cause the *Africans* who could not endure the Avarice of that *Roman* who was the *Magister Militum*, [Master of the Soldiery or General] among the *Moors*, they gave the Purple Robe to *Firmus* and declared him to be Emperor. Which being told, no doubt but it troubled *Valentinian*: who immediately commanded certain Legions from the Garisons in *Pannonia* and *Mysia* to sail into *Africa*. And thereupon the *Sarmatians* with the *Quadi*, who were long before offended with him that had the charge of those places (whose name was *Celestius*) when the Soldiers were gone over into *Africa*, invaded the *Pannonians* and the *Mysians*. For since *Celestius* had broken his Oath and not onely deceiv'd, but kill'd their Prince by treachery, before they rose from Table, the *Barbarians* very wisely took the opportunity of this Expedition and plunder'd all the Country about the *Ister*, carrying all away that they found out of the Cities, or Towns. By which means the *Pannonians* were exposed to the *Barbarian* cruelty, whilst the Soldiers were very negligent in defending their Towns, and did as much damage as the *Barbarians* themselves

selves to all places within the River. But *Mysia* suffer'd no injury, because *Theodosius*, who was the *Magister Militum*, so valiantly withstood 'em and routed 'em when they came against him. And from that Victory he not only gain'd great Honour, but afterward came to be Emperor. But of that we shall speak in due time.

But *Valentinian*, not able to endure the news which he heard, march'd out of *Celtica* into *Illyricum*, with a Design to make War upon the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*; and made *Merobaudes*, who seemed to have more experience in Military Affairs than any other, General of his whole Army. But seeing that the Winter weather lasted a little longer than ordinary, the *Quadi* sent Embassadors to him with such instructions as were not modest or becoming: at which the Emperor was so angry, that being almost mad the blood came down from his head, into his mouth and stop'd his breath, so that he died, after he had lived in *Illyricum* nine months wanting some few days, and in the twelfth year of his Reign.

When he was dead a Thunderbolt fell upon *Sirmium* which burnt both the Palace and the Market-place, and seemed to such as are Critical Judges of those things to be an

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an ill Omen concerning publick Affairs. There also happen'd Earthquakes in some places; and *Crete* was shaken very much as likewise *Peloponnesus* and all *Greece*, so that many places were ruin'd by it, yea almost all tumbled down, except *Athens* and the Country of *Attica*, which they say were saved by this means. *Nestorius*, who at that time was the chief Sacrificer there, saw a Vision that commanded him to pay publick Honours to that *Heroe*, *Achilles*: for it would be a safeguard to the City. But he having communicated this to the Magistrates of the City, they thought he was so old, as to doat, and regarded not what he said, wherefore he consider'd of it within himself, and receiving instructions from Divine Contemplations, he set up the Heroes Image which he made in a small House under the Statue of *Minerva* which was placed in the Virgin-Chamber. And as often as he did sacrifice to the Goddess, he at the same time duly perform'd what belong'd to the Heroe. And by this means having satisfied the desire of the Vision, the *Athenians* were free from the Earthquake which fell upon every body else excepting only the Country of *Attica* which partook of the Heroes kindness. Now that this is

true

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true you may read in *Syrianus* the Philosopher, who has written an Hymn upon this Heroe. And these things I thought fit to add as not altogether impertinent to our present business.

But now that *Valentinian* was dead, and *Merobaudes* and *Equitius*, two Tribunes, saw *Valens* and *Gratian* lived then at a great distance (for the one was in the East, and the other left by his Father in the West of Gaul) they fear'd lest it should so fall out, that the *Barbarians* beyond *Ister* might make some effort whilst the Country was without a Governour, and therefore sent for *Valentinian's* younger Son, whom he had by his Wife, that was *Magnentius*'s Widow, and not far off with the Child. Whom when they had cloth'd in Purple they brought him into the Court, being scarce five years of Age. And when it came to pass that *Gratian* and this young *Valentinian* divided the Empire between 'em, according to their discretion who were their Guardians or Protectors (for they were not of age to manage their own Affairs) the *Celtick Countries*, all *Spain* and the Island of *Britain* was given to *Gratianus*, and *Valentinian* was to have all *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*. Whilst in the mean time many innundations of Wars overflow'd the Emperor *Valens* from all parts.

Of

Of which the first were, the *Isauri* (who are by some called *Pisidæ*, by others *Soly-mi*, and by others *Cilices montani* or *Moun-tain Cilicians*, of whom we will speak more accurately when we come to the proper place for it) who plunder'd the Towns in *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and though they could not get possession of the Walls and Houses, yet they took away all that was in the Streets, or Fields. But the Emperor who was yet at *Antioch*, sent a sufficient number of Men (as he thought) against 'em, and then the *Isauri* fled with all their spoils into the craggy Mountains, where the Soldiers were either so lazy as not to follow 'em, or otherwise unable to remedy those misfortunes which the several Towns had undergone.

But whilst these things were thus managed, a certain barbarous Nation, which was never known till then, but appear'd all of a sudden, attaqued the *Scythians* beyond *Ister*. They are called *Hunni*, [and we know not] whether you may say, they were *Scythians*, that lived under a Kingly Government, or those whom *Herodotus* says lived near the *Ister*, and were a sort of flat-nosed, weak people, or whether they came out of *Asia* into *Europe*. For I have read a Story that tells us, The *Cimmerian Bosphorus* was made firm ground by

by mud brought down the *Tanaïs* and afforded them a Land-passage over out of *Asia* into *Europe*. But however, these they were, with their Wives, Children, Horses and Carriages, and invaded the *Scythians* that live upon the *Ister*: and though they neither could nor understood how to fight on foot (for how should they ? when they are not able to set their feet firm upon the earth, but live continually, nay sleep on Horse-back) yet by their wheeling about upon their Horses, by their excursions, and timely retreats, and by shooting as they rode, they made a great slaughter among the *Scythians*. And this they did so continually, that the surviving *Scythians* were forced to leave their Habitations to these *Hunni*, and passing over the *Ister* to go and beseech the Emperor to receive 'em, upon their promise to be his true and faithful Fellow-Soldiers. Which petition of theirs seeing the Officers of Garrison Towns near the *Ister* deliberated upon till the Emperors pleasure was known, *Valens* permitted them to be received but without their Arms. In order whereunto the Tribunes, and other Commanders went over to fetch the *Barba-rians* unarm'd into the *Roman Territories*: but spent their time onely in looking after handsom Wenchies, hunting out pret-ty

ty Boys for beastly uses, or making themselves masters of Slaves and Country hinds (for they minded nothing that concern'd the publick good) so that a great many pass'd over with their Arms, through meer negligence; who as soon as they were got into the *Roman* Dominions, remember'd neither their Petitions nor their Oaths, but fill'd all *Thrace*, *Pannonia* and the whole Country as far as *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, with *Barbarians* that pillaged all before 'em.

When therefore they were in such extremity of danger, certain persons went to the Emperor and told him what had happen'd. Whereupon having settled his Affairs in *Persia* as well as he could, he made haste from *Antioch* and went for *Constantinople*: from whence he march'd into *Thrace* to fight those fugitive *Scythians*. But as the Army and the Emperor himself were going forth, they saw a strange sight, which was this. There was the body of a Man lying in the Rode, stone-still, that look'd as if it had been whip'd from head to heel, onely its eyes were open, and stared upon all that came near it. Of whom when they had demanded, What he was, and whence he came, or who had lash'd him so, and receiv'd no answer; they thought it some pro-

prodigious thing and shew'd him to the Emperor as he passed by. Who though he ask'd it the same questions, yet it remain'd speechless; nor could it be thought a living creature because it was void of all motion, or quite dead, because the Eyes were seemingly well. At last it vanish'd of a sudden. Which when the standers-by beheld they could not tell what to think; but those, that have skill in such things, said, it foretold the future State of the Empire, That the Commonwealth should look as if it were beaten and whip'd, like those that are just expiring, till by the ill-management of Magistrates and Ministers it were quite dead. And indeed if we consider every thing, this prediction will appear to be true.

But the Emperor *Valens* seeing the *Scythians* plunder all *Thrace*, resolv'd to send those men whom he had brought along with him out of the East, and knew to be very good at fighting on Horse-back, to make the first charge upon the *Scythian* Horse. They therefore having receiv'd the Word from the Emperor went in small numbers out of the Gates of *Constantinople*, and killing the straggling *Scythians* with their Spears, brought many of their Heads each day into the City: And because the nimbleness of their Horses,

together with the force of their Spears made the *Scythians* think it hard to overcome them, they intended to circumvent the *Saracens* by a stratagem, which was thus: They planted Ambuscades in several places of three *Scythians* to one *Saracen*: but failed of their Design; for that the *Saracens* through the swiftness and agility of their Horses could get away whenever they saw any considerable number of them acoming. But if they came up to 'em softly, and hit 'em with their Spears, they commonly made such a slaughter among the *Scythians*, that at last they chose rather to pass the *Ister*, since they despair'd of doing any good of it, and surrender themselves to the *Hunni*, than be all knock'd on the head by the *Saracens*. When therefore they forsook all the places near *Constantinople*, and were gone farther into the Country, the Emperor had room to draw his Army forward. But whilst he stood considering how he should manage the War (when such a multitude of *Barbarians* were at hand, and the ill conduct of his own Officers gave him such trouble, that as he was affraid to casheer 'em in such tempestuous circumstances; so also he was doubtful who he should put in their places, since no one appear'd that was fit for such employments) *Sebastianus*

nus left the West (though the Emperors there did not understand how things went by reason of their nonage, but gave themselves wholly up to hearing of Calumnies from the Eunuchs that attended in their Chambers) and came to *Constantinople*. Which when *Valens* heard of, and was satisfied how skilful a person he was both in military and civil Affairs, he made him General, and trusted him with the management of the whole War. Whereupon *Sebastianus* considering the effeminacy and sluggishness of the Tribunes as well as the Soldiers, how that they were bred and taught onely to run away, and to desire things that were base and more fit for Women than Men to wish for, He beg'd that he might have but two thousand Men of his own choosing. For he knew it was a difficult matter to command a multitude of men that had been dissolutely govern'd, though it was easie enough to teach a small number, and reclaim 'em from their effeminacy into manhood: besides that it was more expedient to run the risque of a few than of all. By which Arguments having persuaded the Emperor and obtain'd his desire, He took not such who had been bred up in cowardice and used to run away, but a party

party of men that had been lately taken into the Army, who were lusty hale Fellows, and seemed to him who could judg of men, to be fit for any service. He therefore presently made trial of each one among 'em, and what was wanting he supply'd by continual exercise, commanding and rewarding all those that were obedient, but seeming severe and inexorable to all that were disobedient. And when he had by this means taught 'em all military Art, he took possession of certain walled Towns, as having a great regard to the safety of his Army. But from thence he attaqued the *Barbarians* by frequent Ambuscades as they came out to forage: and sometime when they were loaden with Spoils he kill'd 'em, and made himself Master of what they had; and at other times destroy'd 'em whilst they were Drunk or washing in the River.

But when he had taken off a great part of the *Barbarians* by these methods, and that the rest were so much affraid of him that they durst not come to forage, he was extraordinarily envied. And that envy beggan hatred of him, till at length he was accused before the Emperor by those that had lost their Commands, and therefore set the Cour: Eunuchs on to do him

him a diskindness. And by this means the Emperor being perverted into an unreasonable suspicion of him, *Sebastianus* sent the Emperor word, that he would have him stay where he was and not march forward: For that it was no easie matter to come to a pitch'd Battel with such a vast number of men; but it was better to protract the time by circumventions and Ambuscades till they despair'd for want of necessaries, and either surrender'd themselves, or departed out of the *Roman* Territories and put themselves under the *Huns* rather than be exposed to all that misery and destruction which does attend a Famine. But whilst he advised the Emperor to this, the adverse party persuaded him, to march forth with his whole Army: for that the *Barbarians* were almost all destroy'd, and the Emperor might gain a Victory without any trouble. And this counsel of theirs though it were the worse of the two so far prevail'd, that (as ill fortune would have it) the Emperor drew forth his whole Army without any order at all. Which when the *Barbarians* boldly met they got the better of it by far and kill'd almost all of 'em, except some few, with whom the Emperor fled into an unwalled Village; about which the *Barbarians* piled Wood

and setting fire to it burnt all that ran thither together with the Inhabitants, in such a manner that no one could ever find the Emperor's body.

Now when Affairs were reduced to this low ebb, *Victor* who commanded the *Roman Horse*, escaping the danger along with some of the Horse, went into *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, and from thence making an excursion into *Mygia* and *Pannonia*, he told *Gratian*, who then lay thereabout, how things had fallen out, as also of the loss both of the Emperor and the Army. Which *Gratian* heard with patience, and was not much concern'd for his Uncle's Death (for there had been a grudg between them two) but seeing himself unable to manage his Affairs, since *Thrace* was over-run by the *Barbarians*, as likewise *Mygia* and *Pannonia*, and that the barbarous Nations upon the *Rhine* infested the Neighbouring Towns without controul, he chose *Theodosius* to be his Partner in the Empire, who was born at a Town called *Cauca*, in that part of *Spain* called *Hispania Callaecia*, and had good skill as well as experience in Military Affairs. And having made him Gouvernour of *Thrace* and of the East Countries, He went himself into the West of *Gallia*, to compose things there if it were possible.

Whilst

Whilst therefore the new Emperor *Theodosius* remain'd at *Thessalonica*, there was a great concourse of people from all parts that flock'd thither both upon private and publick businels, and having obtain'd of him as much as it was fit for him to grant, went away again. But since a great multitude of the *Scythians* that lived beyond the *Ister* (I mean the *Gothi*, and the *Taiphali*, and the rest of those Nations which formerly lived among 'em) had passed the River, and were forced to infest the *Roman Dominions*, because the *Hunni* had gotten into their Country, the Emperor *Theodosius* prepared for a War with all his Forces. But seeing all *Thrace* was in the hands of the aforesaid Nations, and those that guarded the Towns and Castles there durst not move out of their Walls, much less engage in the open field, *Modares*, who was of the Royal Family of *Scythia*, and had not long before come over to the *Romans*, who, for his fidelity to 'em, had made him *Magister Militum* [i. e. a General] having drawn the Soldiers to the top of an Hill which was even and plain like a Meadow, of a great length, with spacious fields at the bottom of it, he lay there unknown to the *Barbarians*. And understanding by his Scouts that all the Enemies were in the fields below, luxuriously

riously wasting and destroying all the forage and provissons that they found either in the Fields or in the unwalled Villages, so that they lay there Drunk, he commanded his Soldiers so as not to be heard by the Enemy, to go with their Swords and Bucklers onely, without their heavy Armour or joyning of their Shields together, as they used, and set upon the *Barbarians* whilst they were drown'd in pleasure. Which they accordingly having done, in one small part of a Day kill'd every one of 'em; among whom some were never sensible who hurt 'em, others just felt their Wound and died, and the rest were taken off by several sorts of Death. And afterward when they were all slain, they fell to rifling the Dead, from whence they proceeded to the Women and Children and took four thousand Waggons and as many Captives as may probably ride in so many Carriages, besides them that went on foot and only rode now and then (as 'tis usual) by turns, to ease themselves.

Thus when the Army had made use of all that Fortune offer'd to it, the Affairs of *Thrace*, which had been upon the very brink of ruin, were then at rest, since the *Barbarians* there were destroy'd beyond all hopes. But the Dominions of the

the East had like to have utterly been ruined by this means: After the *Hunns* had invaded the Nations beyond *Ister* (as I have told you) and that the *Scythians* could not withstand their incursions, they beg'd of the Emperor *Valens* who was then in being, that he would take 'em into *Thrace*, and they would do all the Duties of Fellow-Soldiers and good Subjects, in perfect obedience to all his Commands. With which Promise of theirs *Valens* was so far persuaded as to admit 'em: and thinking it would be a sufficient caution for their fidelity if he caus'd all their Children who were yet very young to be brought up in another Country, he sent a great number of little Brats into the East, and made *Julius* the Overseer both of their Education and keeping, because he thought him sufficiently qualified with understanding for both those Offices. He therefore distributed them into several Towns, lest the *Barbarian* Youth, being such a vast number together, might have any opportunity to rebel or being out of their own Country, to form a Conspiracy. Now the news of what had befalln their Country-men in *Thrace* was brought to them whilst they lived at the several Towns and were grown to Mans estate. At which they were much troubled, and met together,

ther, as many of 'em as lived in one City, who privately sent word to those that inhabited in other places, that they had a mind to set upon the *Roman* Towns in revenge for what their Parents and Country-men had suffer'd. In the mean time *Julius* hearing of the *Barbarians* intention, and doubting what to do, though he at the same instant feared the expedite Attempts of the *Barbarians* when they were once set on, he resolv'd not to let *Theodosius* know of the Design, not onely because he was then in *Macedonia*, but also because this Charge was committed to him by *Valens* and not by *Theodosius*, who was then Emperor, but yet hardly knew *Julius*: and therefore sent Letters privately to the Senate of *Constantinople*, from whom having Authority to do what he thought most conduced to the publick good, he removed the danger that threaten'd the several Towns in this manner. He sent for all the Military Officers and gave 'em an Oath of secrerie before he told 'em his Design. Which when they understood and were instructed what to do, they spread a report among all the *Barbarians* of each Town, that the Emperor had a mind to present 'em with large gifts, and give 'em every one not onely Money but Land too, to oblige 'em

'em to love himself and the *Roman* Nation. In order whereunto they bad 'em all meet at their Metropolises or chief Cities upon a certain Day. With which news the *Barbarians* were so pleased, that they remitted something of their fury and the destruction which they intended to their several Cities: And upon the Day appointed they all flock'd to the places where they were order'd to meet. Where when they arrived, the Soldiers who knew the signal, got up upon the tops of Houses that were near the several Market-places (where the throng of 'em was) and as the *Barbarians* came in did so pelt 'em with Stones and Darts that they kill'd 'em every man and freed the Eastern Cities from all their fears.

And thus did the sagacity of their Officers put an end to those misfortunes which happen'd both in the East and *Thrace*. Whilst at the same time the Emperor *Theodosius* living in *Theffalonica* was very accessible to all that had a mind to see him; but having begun his Reign in pleasure and idleness, he put the Magistracy into disorder, and made the Military Officers more than they were before. For whereas there had been formerly but one General or Master of the Horse, and one other of the Foot, he distributed those Offices

The History Book IV.

fices among above more than five; and thereby put the publick to greater charges for provisions. For every one of those five or more had as much allow'd him, as either of 'em had when there was but two: besides that it was oppression upon the Soldiers to be exposed to the avarice of so many Officers. For every one of 'em would get as much out of the Soldiers allowance as one of two should. But this was not all: for he encrased the number of Captains, Lieutenants and Tribunes to such a degree, that he left 'em twice as many as he found 'em, nor had the Soldiers one farthing of their allowance out of the Treasury. All which was occasion'd by the Emperors negligence and excessive covetousness. Nay farther, it was He that introduced such a vast expence at the Imperial Table, that to serve in such a quantity of provisions and furnish a Table so richly, there were whole Legions of Cooks, Butlers, and other attendants, whom if a man would reckon up he must spend a great deal of time in taking down their names. For as ro the multitude of Eunuchs about the Court employ'd in the Emperors service, and how most of 'em, especially such as were more beautiful than others called any Magistrate or Officer to account whom they pleas'd, and how

Book IV. of Count ZOSIMUS.

how they had in effect the sole Government of the Empire, disposing of the Emperor as they thought fit, and changing his mind to whatsoever they desired. As to these things why should I speak much, I say, when I am to shew the particular caufes of that destruction which happen'd through such means. For as he would squander away the publick Stock without any consideration and bestow it upon fellows that had no worth in 'em, till he was like enough to want Money; So he sold all Commands of Provinces to any one that would buy 'em, without any regard either to the reputation or conversation of the party, and thought him best qualified that brought him most Gold or Silver. So that you might see Goldsmiths and Bankers and others that are of the most sordid professions, with the Ensigns of Magistracy about 'em, and selling the Provinces to those that had most Money.

And now since there was such a change in the State and so much for the worse, the Soldiety was soon leslen'd, and came even to nothing at all: besides that all the Money was gone out of the Towns, partly to pay excessive Taxes, and partly to satisfie the covetousnes of the Magistrates. For whosoever did not endeavour

vour to please and humour their insatiable desire, they suborn'd fellows to accuse him, and did as good as say, they must get up what they paid for their places. By which means those that lived in Towns led a very miserable life through their own poverty and the iniquity of the Magistrates, and onely pray'd to God to deliver 'em from such afflictions; for as yet they were permitted to go in to the Temples and worship the Gods after their Country fashion.

But the Emperor *Theodosius* seeing the Army very much diminished, permitted the *Barbarians* beyond *Ister*, as many as would to come to him, and promised to make all the Fugitives, Soldiers. Upon which terms many of 'em went to him and were muster'd among the Legions; conceiving within themselves when they were more of 'em together, they might easily attaque the Government and make themselves Lords of all. But the Emperor having taken a view of the Fugitives who were a great multitude, and more already than the other Soldiers that were there; and considering also how it were possible to curb 'em if they had a mind to break their promises of Obedience, he thought best to mingle some of 'em with those Legions that were in *Egypt*,

Egypt, and take a Detachment from thence to supply their places in his Army. Which when he had done, so that one party came and the other went according to the Emperor's Order, the *Egyptians* indeed march'd through the several Towns very quietly and paid for what they had, but the *Barbarians* behaved themselves very rudely, and dispos'd of all that was in the several Markets as they pleas'd. But when they both met at *Philadelphia*, which is a Town in *Lydia* the *Egyptians* who were far fewer than the *Barbarians* observ'd their Officers Orders, whilst the *Barbarians* who exceeded them in number, pretended to a greater priviledg. And therefore when a certain Tradesman in the Market place demanded his Money for Goods that he had sold to a *Barbarian*, but the *Barbarian* drew his sword and cut him, whereupon the man cry'd out, and there was another also hurt who camc to assist him, the *Egyptians* being sorry to see such an ill action, they modestly admonish'd the *Barbarians* to restrain from such unhandsom and unjust deeds; for that it did not become men that resolv'd to live under the *Roman* Laws. But they were never the better for their advice but drew upon them too, so long till the *Egyptians*

tians giving way to their passion fell upon 'em, kill'd above two hundred, and wounding some of 'em compelled the rest to fly into Sinks where they died. But when the *Egyptians* had done thus to the *Barbarians* at *Philadelphia*, and persuaded them to be more modest, as being never like to want Enemies, they held on their way: and the *Barbarians* march'd toward *Egypt* whither they were bound. Now their General was *Hormisdas*, a *Persian*, the Son of that *Hormisdas*, who was with the Emperor *Julian* in the *Persian War*. But when the *Egyptians* came into *Macedonia* and were joyn'd with the Legions there, no Order was observ'd in the Camp, nor any distinction between a *Roman* and a *Barbarian*, but all conversed promiscuously together, neither was there so much as a Muster-Roll kept of the Soldiers names. Nay farther, it was permitted that the Fugitives might go back into their own Countrey, though they were listed among the Legions and send others in their stead, and when they pleas'd come again and be Soldiers under the *Emperor*.

When the *Barbarians* saw such disorder in the Army (for the Fugitives inform'd 'em of it, besides the tree access which they

they had to it) they thought this a fair opportunity to make an Attempt upon the *Romans*, who were so careless in the conduct of their Affairs. And therefore having passed the River with ease, and march'd as far as *Macedonia* (for no body hinder'd 'em, being the Fugitives could let 'em pass without molestation as far as they pleas'd) when they found that the Emperor was coming to meet 'em with all his Forces, by a great fire which they saw at Mid-night and guess'd to be near the Emperor and his Retinue (which they also understood so to be from the Fugitives that came to 'em) they ran by the light of that fire up to the Emperor's Tent. Where being joyn'd by the Fugitives, the *Romans* onely (except some few fugitives that were on their side) opposed 'em. Yet being so few against so many, they made indeed a shift to give the Emperor time to escape, but themselves were all slain; not but that they fought bravely and kill'd a great multitude of the *Barbarians*. Upon which occasion if the *Barbarians* had follow'd their blow, and pursu'd those that fled away with the Emperor, they had certainly vanquish'd 'em every man upon the first attempt. But being satisfied with what they had won, and made themselves Masters of *Macedo-*

The History Book VI.

nia and *Thessaly*, which no body guarded, they left the Towns to their own liberty, and did 'em no damage, out of hopes to have a Tribute from 'em.

But the Emperor, when he heard they were march'd home upon that account, secured the Castles and walled Towns with Guards, and went himself to *Constantinople*; having sent Letters to the Emperor *Gratian* to tell him what had happen'd, and that it was necessary with all speed to send Relief in such extremity of danger. And when he had dispatch'd away Couriers, Posts or Letter-Carriers upon that Message, he took notice of what *Macedonia* and *Thessaly* had suffer'd, but made such Collectors of Tribute, as were severe and rigid in their exactions of it: so that a Man might have seen all that which was left through the humanity of the *Barbarians*, gather'd up for Tribute. For they paid not only Money, but gave in their Womens Attire, and all their Clothes, even to that (I was going to say) which cover'd their nakedness, to satisfie Taxes. Insoimuch that every Town and Country was full of lamentation and tears; whilst they all called out upon the *Barbarians* and desired their assistance.

And

Book IV. of Count ZOSIMUS.

And this was the State of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*: whilst at the same time the Emperor *Theodosius* made his entrance into *Constantinople* with splendour, as if he had Triumph'd for some great Victory; without any regard to the publick miseries, but making his luxuriant pleasures proportionable to the bigness of the City. But the Emperour *Gratian* being mightily troubled at the news sent forth a sufficient Army under the command of *Bando*, accompanied by *Arbogastes*, who were both of 'em *Franks*, but loved the *Romans* very well, were free from all bribery, or covetousness and wise as well as stout Soldiers. Who when they came with the Army into *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, the *Scythians* that were there a plundering all before 'em, as soon as they perceiv'd the resolution and Design of these two Men, immediately left the Country and ran back into *Thrace*, which they had formerly pillaged. Where being in doubt what to do, they made use of such a stratagem as before, and endeavour'd to cheat the Emperor *Theodosius* with the same trick a-

P. Diaconus says quite otherwise of him in his 12th Book. Eut (says he) those things, where-with *Theodosius* is aspersed, to wit, that he was a Drunkard, and very ambitious to Triumph, he so much abhor'd, that he wag'd none, though he found Wars; and prohibited by a Law all lascivious actions, as also Minstrels to be used at Feasts. But we must pardon *Zosimus* in this, because with him it was the greatest Crime merely to be a Christian.

again. For they sent unto him Fugitives of the meanest rank, to promise him all friendship and obedience; whom he believing entertain'd. And therefore, least his former experience should have made him sensible of his own advantage; they were follow'd by a great many more, whom he in like manner receiv'd: till by the Emperor's folly the Fugitives had once more got the power into their own hands. And that folly of his was daily encreas'd by his voluptuous way of living; for whatioever contributes to the debauching of good Manners receiv'd such additions in his Reign, that every one who affected to be like the Emperor placed all humane happiness in such kind of things. For there were *Mimicks*, and those cursed Caitiffs the Dancers, with every thing else that conduces to obscenity or that lascivious and dissolute Musick, which was in use both in his time and after; insomuch that the Empire was utterly ruined by those that imitated that sort of folly and madness. Nay more, they violated the Temples of the Gods in all places, nor was it safe for any one to profess there were any Gods, much less to look up to Heaven and adore what they saw there.

But

But whilst *Theodosius* was thus employ'd, the Emperor *Gratian* sent *Vitalianus* to be General of the *Illyrian Legions*, who was a Man that could not any way relieve 'em in that their languishing condition. And whilst this *Vitalianus* was in Office there were two Regiments of *Germans* that lived beyond the *Rhine*, the one of which was commanded by *Fritigern*, and the other by *Allothus* and *Sarfraces*, who lay so hard upon the *Celtick* Nations, that they forced the Emperor *Gratian* to give 'em leave that if they would quit the *Celtick* Countries they might cross the *Ister* and march into *Pannonia* and the upper *Mygia*: For his Design and endeavour was to be freed from their continual inrodes. Whereupon they passed the *Ister* with an intention to go through *Pannonia* into *Epirus*, and crossing the River *Achelous* to attaque the Cities of *Greece*; but first thought fit to get good store of provisions, and remove *Atbanaricus* who was the chief of all the *Seythian* royal Family, that no body might be left behind 'em to hinder or obstruct their Enterprise. Accordingly they set upon him and easily beat him out of the places where he lay: which made him betake himself with all speed to *Theodosius* who was just then recover'd from a Disease that had like

have been the death of him. And *Theodosius* entertain'd very kindly both him and all his *Barbarians* that were come along with him, going out a good way from *Constantinople* to meet him. Nor was he less respectful to him afterward, but when he died (which was within a little while) he interred him in a regal Sepulchre; which was so sumptuous, that all the *Barbarians* stood amazed at the excessive richness of it, and went again into their own Country, without molesting the *Romans* any more, they so much admired the Emperors goodness and magnificence. And as many of 'em as came along with the dead Prince, continually guarded the bank of the River, lest any incursions should be made upon the *Romans*.

At the same time *Theodosius* had more good fortune still. For he beat off the *Scyri* and *Carpodaces* who were mix'd with the *Hunni*, and so subdu'd 'em that he forced 'em to cross the *Ister* and return into their own Country. From which success of the Emperor his Soldiers reassumed their courage and seemed a little to recover out of their former calamities, and the Husbandmen also had free liberty to manure the Earth, as likewise the Cattel fed without fear. And thus did *Theodo-*

sius

sius seem to make up their losses; whilst in the mean time *Promotus*, who was General of the Foot in *Thrace*, but at this time made use of Boats as well as Land-forces, met with *Ædotheus*, who had rais'd a mighty Army not onely of the Nations that live upon the *Ister*, but such as live a great way off in places unknown, and was then just coming with 'em over the River; where *Promotus* (I say) met him and made such a slaughter among his men, that the very River was fill'd with the dead bodies, and those that fell upon the Land could scarce be number'd.

The Affairs of *Thrace* being in this condition, made *Gratian's* circumstances very difficult: for he, taking the counsel of those Courtiers who use to corrupt the manners of Princes, receiv'd certain Fugitives called *Alani*; whom he not onely listed among his Army, but honour'd with large Presents, and trusted with his greatest secrets; not valuing his own Soldiers at all. And this begat in his Soldiers an hatred of him; which being enflamed, and augmented by degrees, incited them toward innovation; but most of all that part of 'em which was in the British Islands, as being the more resolute and surly fellows. To which also *Maximus*, a

Spaniard, who had been the Emperor *Theodosius's* Fellow-Soldier in *Britain*, gave 'em some farther encouragement. For he took it very ill that *Theodosius* should be thought worthy of being made Emperor, whilst he himself had no honourable Employment, and therefore incensed the Soldiers with greater animosity against the Emperor. Upon which they were easily persuaded and in a mutiny declared *Maximus*, Emperor. To whom having presented the Purple Robe and Diadem, they went by Sea as far as the mouth of the *Rhine*: Where seeing the *German* Army and all the rest that were in those parts approved the choice very well, *Gratian* prepared to fight him with a considerable part of the Army which he yet had on his side. But when they came to engage, they onely skirmish'd for five days; till *Gratian* perceiving that, first of all, the *Moorish* Horse forsook him and declared *Maximus*, *Augustus*; and then that the rest revolted to *Maximus* by little and little, he bad adieu to all good hopes, and taking along with him three hundred Horse, fled with them to the *Alps* as fast as he could. And finding those parts unguarded, he went toward *Rhetia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia* and the upper *Mysia*. Which when

when *Maximus* understood, he neglected not his opportunity, but sent *Andragathius* General of the Horse, who was born near the *Euxine* Sea, and always seemed to be his Friend, with the stoutest Horses that he had, to pursue him. And he accordingly follow'd him with such speed, that he overtook him as he was just passing the Bridg at *Sigidunus* and kill'd him: by which means he strengthen'd *Maximus's* Dominion.

Now it is worth while upon this occasion to tell you a Story, not altogether foreign from my present Narration. Among the *Romans* the Pontifices were the persons who had the chief management of holy things: whom we may term *Gephyræi*; if we translate the word *Pontifices* [which signifies Bridg-makers] out of *Latin* into *Greek*; and the reason of that appellation was this. When men as yet knew not how to worship by Statues, there were some Images of the Gods first made in *Thessaly*: but because there were then no Temples (for the use of them also was yet unknown) they set up those Pictures of the Gods upon a Bridg that went cross the River *Peneus*, and called those that sacrificed to the Gods, *Gephyræi* [Bridg Priests] from the place where the Images were first set up. From whence the *Romans*,

mans, who take it from the Greeks, called those that were the chieft Priests, *Pontifices*, and made a Law that Kings, for their Honours sake, should be reckon'd among 'em. Of whom *Numa Pompilius* was the first that ever enjoy'd this Dignity; but after him all had it, not onely that were called Kings, but even *Octavianus* himself, and those who succeeded him in the *Roman Empire*. For when any one came to be Emperor the *Pontifices* [chief Priests] brought him the Priestly Habit, and presently he was stiled [*Pontifex Maximus*] or chief Priest. And indeed all other Emperors seemed very well pleased with the Honour, and were willing to use the Appellation or Title, yea even *Constantine* himself when he was Emperor [admitted of it] though he were perverted from the right way in regard to holy matters, and embraced the Christian Faith. So likewise after him did all the rest in order, to *Valentinian* and *Valens*. But when the *Pontifices* [chief Priests] brought the holy Robe to *Gratian* (as it was the custom to do) he rejected their offer; as thinking it an unlawful Garb for a Christian to use. And when the Robe was given back to the Priests that brought it, they say, the chief Person among 'em said, If the Emperor will not be called *Pontifex*, we'll soon make one.

And

And thus did *Gratian's Reign* come to an end; whilst *Maximus*, who now opposed himself to have sure footing in the Empire, sent an Embassy to the Emperor *Theodosius*, not to beg pardon for what he had done against *Gratian*, but rather to give a farther provocation. In which Negotiation, the Person sent was the Imperial Chamberlain; yet no Eunuch (for *Maximus* would not have an Eunuch to govern his Court) but a grave Person that had been his familiar Acquaintance ever since he was a Child. Now the business which he went about, was, to ask *Theodosius* if he would enter into a League, be friends, and make an Alliance against all common Enemies that should oppose the *Romans*, and if he would not, to declare against him open Hostility. Whereupon the Emperor *Theodosius* admitted *Maximus* to be Emperor with him, and to partake both of his Statues and his Imperial Title; though at the same time privately he levied War, and endeavour'd to circumvent him by all manner of flattery and observance: insomuch that he commanded *Cynegius*, Prefect of his Court, whom he sent into *Egypt*, to prohibit all worship of the Gods there, and shut up their Temples, that he should shew the *Alexandrians* *Maximus's Image*, and set it up

up in some publick place, and declare to the people that he was to be his Partner in the Empire. In which Affair *Cynegius* did as he was commanded ; shutting up the Temple-door throughout the East, all *Egypt* and *Alexandria* it self, and prohibiting all their ancient sacrifices together with their customary Rites. But now as to those things which from that time to this have besalm the *Roman Empire*, a particular account from matter of fact will be a Demonstration.

About this time a certain Nation of *Scythians* appear'd from beyond the *Ister*, who were never before known to any of the inhabitants thereabout ; though the *Barbarians*, of that Country called 'em, *Prothivgi*. Who being a vast number of 'em, furash'd with all convenient Arms, and very lusty men besides, they easily over-ran the mid-land *Barbarians*, came down as far as the banks of *Ister*, and desired leave to cross over the River. But *Prometus*, the General of the Armies that lay there, drew his men out in length as far as he could along the bank of the River and stopped the *Barbarians* passage. And whilst he was so doing he found out also another way, which was this. He called together some of his own Soldiers who understood their Language, and were such

as he could trust in things of that nature, and sent 'em to treat with these *Barbarians* about betraying their own Party. But they that went, demanded a large Reward, to give up the *Roman General* with the whole Army into the *Barbarians* hands. And when the *Barbarians* told 'em they were not able to give so much, yet to create belief of what they had said, they stood upon their first Proposals, and would not abate one farthing of their price. At last being both sides agreed of the Sum, they made secret compacts concerning the Treachery : in which it was consented, that part of the Money should be paid immediatey, and the rest when the Victory was obtained. But when they had order'd how the Signal should be given and the time when the Treason should be put in execution, they told the whole story to the General ; how that in the Night-time, the *Barbarians* were to go about the work and cross the River to attaque the *Roman Army*.

The *Barbarians* therefore putting all their best men into a great many Wherries, commanded them to go over first and set upon the Soldiers whilst they were yet asleep. And next to them, they sent the midling sort, to assist the first when they

they had begun the Attaque, as likewise, after them, the useless multitude of all Ages, who would be sure to brag of a Victory when others had gotten it. But *Promotus* being inform'd of all this before-hand by those whom he sent to contrive this pretended Treachery, was prepared against the *Barbarians* Designs, and set his Ships with their Stems one against another no more than three deep, but rang'd 'em as long as he could, even to twenty furlongs upon the River-side. By which means he not onely kept the Enemy from coming over, but sunk all the rest that he met coming over in the Wherries. But being a dark, Moonless Night, the *Barbarians* knew nothing of what preparations the *Romans* had made, and therefore going to work they went very silently on board their Wherries, supposing that the *Romans* were altogether strangers to their Designs. But when the Signal was given, those Men that devised the Treachery having fore-warn'd the General of every particular intention, and made a preparation proportionable to that of the Enemy; they sailed up to 'em in great, strong Ships with stout Oars and sunk all they met, among whom there was not one man that was saved by leaping over-board, their

Arms

Arms were so heavy. And those Wherries, that escaped the *Romans* who sailed to and fro, if they fell into the hands of those that lay along the shoar, were pelted so fast with any thing that came to hand, that they and the men in them were cast away at the same time, nor could any pass that Wall of *Roman* Ships.

This caused a mighty slaughter among 'em, and such an one as was never seen in any Sea-fight before, insomuch that the River was fill'd with dead Bodies and Arms which would naturally float upon the Water. And if any of 'em could swim over, they light upon those that lay by the Rivers side, and by them were destroy'd. But when all the flower of the *Barbarians* were slain, the Soldiers be-took themselves to plundering, and not onely carried away their Children and Women, but made themselves Masters of all their provisions. And then the General, *Promotus*, sent for the Emperor *Theodosius*, who was not far off, to be a witness of his brave Achievement. Who, when he saw the number of Captives, and the quantity of spoils, set the Captives at liberty and by gifts that he bestow'd upon 'em, endeavour'd to entice 'em over to his own side, because he knew their help would

would be of consequence to him in a War against *Maximus*.

Thus did *Promotus* continue in his Duty as the Defender and Governour of *Thrace*, and put himself privately in readiness for a War. But it is worth while to tell you another thing that fell out at the same time. There is a Town in that part of *Scythia*, which lies in *Thrace*, called *Tomi*; where *Gerontius*, who was a very strong Man and an excellent Soldier, commanded a Garison. And before this same Town there was planted a choice Company of *Barbarians*, who were not onely very hale, well-timber'd Men, but also more courageous than any of the rest. But these Men though they were presented by the Emperor with greater allowance of Corn and other things, than any of the other Soldiers, yet they did not intend to requite those honours that were done to 'em with good will, but with contempt of the Governor and scorn of the *Roman* Soldiers. Which Design of theirs when *Gerontius* perceiv'd; how they intended to attaque the Town, and put the Government into confusion, he advised with the wisest of his Soldiers about a way to revenge himself upon those insolent, and unjust *Barbarians*. But seeing them fearful and consequently slow

to

to give their assent, as dreading the very motion of the *Barbarians*, he himself took his Arms and a few of his Guards along with him to fight the whole body of the *Barbarians*. And having open'd the Gates he march'd out to meet 'em, whilst his Soldiers were yet either asleep and fetter'd with fear as with a Chain, or got upon the Wall, to see what passed. In the mean time the *Barbarians* laughed at *Gerontius*'s madness, and thinking him desirous of death, sent men against him who were extraordinary strong. Whereupon *Gerontius* engaging with the first that charg'd up to him, and presently catching hold of his Buckler fought very stoutly, till one of the Guards that were about him, who saw them closed, cut off the *Barbarians* Arm, and made him tumble from his Horse. And whilst the *Barbarians* stood amazed at the courage and audacity of the Man, *Gerontius* attaqued some others of the Enemy: insomuch, that when the Soldiers upon the Wall saw what their General did, they remember'd they were *Romans*, and sallying out kill'd most of the *Barbarians*, who were astonish'd to see so sudden an eruption. Only some few escaped into an Edifice which was highly honoured by the Christians, and esteemed as an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary*.

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And

And now *Gerontius* having deliver'd *Scythia* from all impendent dangers and from the *Barbarians* that attempted it, but were subdued by his extraordinary valour and magnanimity, he expected some reward from the Emperor. But instead of that *Theodosius* was very angry, that the *Barbarians* whom he had honour'd so much, were cut off, though they had been a very plague to the publick weal; and therefore presently sent for *Gerontius* into custody, to give him an account for what he had so bravely perform'd upon the score of the *Romans*. Upon which occasion *Gerontius* accused the *Barbarians* of Rebellion against the *Romans*, with a relation of what spoil and ravage they had committed among the Inhabitants of that place: but the Emperor did not mind one word that he said, nor was he moved from his former Opinion, but persisted in his thoughts, that he did not remove them for the good of the publick but for the lucre of what the Emperor had given 'em, that so when he had got their goods into his hands, there might be no body to accuse him. To which *Gerentius* reply'd, that he had sent them to the publick Treasury even after their Death (now the things that he had taken from 'em were golden Necklaces which the Emperor gave 'em for Ornament)

nament) but notwithstanding that, he had much ado to escape the dangers which beset him, though he gave all he had among the Eunuchs, and paid a Sum proportionable to his good will toward the *Romans*.

When things had thus run to ruin under the Reign of *Theodosius*, in whose time no virtuous action was thought commendable, but all manner of luxury and wantonness increased every day beyond all measure (as they use to say) those that inhabited that great City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, not able to endure the continual addition of new Taxes which the Collectors invented, rose up in Arms, and shamefully pulling down the Statues both of the Emperor and Empress, gave out such words as were not unbefitting the actions that had passed, but were moreover mix'd with Drollery and that kind of Raillery which is usually among them. But when the Emperor, who was displeased at what they had done, threaten'd to punish them for that fault according to their demerit, the Senate of the City, for fear of his anger, thought fit to send Embassadors, to excuse what the people had done. So they chose *Libanius*, the Sophister or Professor (whose Writings that he left declare his praises,) and *Hilarius*,

Hilarius, a Man of a nobly Family, and excellently well vers'd in all kind of Learning. Of which two the Sophister made a Speech before the Emperor and Senate concerning the Insurrection, in which he so far prevailed as to appease the Emperor's anger which he had conceiv'd against the *Antiochians*, and (which was more than he expected) made the Emperor, who was now altogether reconciled to their City, enjoyn him to make a second Oration upon the same Subject. And *Hilarius*, who was highly commended for his great Virtue, was by the Emperor made Governour of all *Palestine*.

But whilst the Affairs of the East, of *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were in this posture, *Maximus*, who thought things were not carry'd as he deserv'd, who was onely Governour of those Countries which were formerly under *Gratian*, contrived how to depose the young *Valentinian* from the Empire, and that totally if he could; but if he failed in the whole, to make sure of some part at least, as much as he could get. And being overborn with this Resolution, he prepared to pass the *Alps* and go into *Italy*. But seeing that he must of necessity travel through a streight passage, and over craggy, pathless Mountains, with Marshes and Fens beyond 'em, which admit

nit of no Passengers but such as travel ver-
ry slowly, much less of such an Army,
he deferr'd the enterprise till he had better
Counsel in it. But when *Valentinian* sent
Embassadors from *Aquileia*, to desire a fur-
ther security of Peace, *Maximus* comply'd
with his requests, and pretended that he
also was very well pleased with it. *Va-
lentinian* therefore sent *Domininus* upon
that Negotiation, who though he was a
Syrian born, yet he was the Emperor's
very good Acquaintance, and Friend. For
as he was the next Man to him in Power
and Authority, so he seemed to excell all
others in fidelity and experiance; and be-
sides, whar the Emperor had a mind to
do without any other bodies knowledg,
he resolv'd to impart to this person onely.
When therefore *Domininus* came to *Maxi-
mus*, and had told him the reasons of that
Embassy, he received him with all re-
spect and kindness imaginable. For he
conferr'd such extraordinary honour upon
him, and gave him such a load of Presents,
that *Domininus* thought *Valentinian* would
never have such an other friend. Nay so
far did *Maximus* proceed to cheat *Domi-
ninus*, that he sent along with him some
part of the Army which he had, to help
the Emperor against the *Barbarians*, who
oppress'd the *Pannonians* that were under
his

his Dominion. Thereupon *Domininus* took his leave, and being well pleased not only with the great quantity of Presents that he received, but the company of those Allies who were sent along with him, he, like an unwise Man, made the way over the *Alps* that led to his own home more pervious for *Maximus*. Which that he would do being *Maximus* foresaw, and therefore had prepared all things in a readiness, he followed him with all his Forces, and secretly sent out Guards before him, who took all the care they could lest any one should pass by that way, and tell *Domininus*'s Retinue of *Maximus*'s coming over into *Italy*. And indeed this Guard upon the pass was very easie to be made; for it was impossible that any one should go through the narrowest place upon the *Alps* but he must needs be seen. When therefore he understood that *Domininus* and his Attendants had passed the streights of the *Alps*, with all those invious Mountains, besides the Fenny places beyond the *Alps*, that are so difficult for an Army to march through, and did not fear meeting any Enemy in those cumberson places, he immediately went into *Italy* without any resistance, and marched to *Aquileia*.

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At which *Valentinian* was so surprized, and in such a desperate condition, that his Courtiers were affraid, lest *Maximus* should take him Prisoner and kill him; for which reason he immediately took shipping and sailed to *Theffalonica* along with his Mother *Justina*, who had been Wife (as I told you before) to *Magnentius*, but, after his decease, was married to the Emperor *Valentinian* upon the account of her extraordinary beauty. But she did not go alone without any other Woman; for she carry'd her Daughter *Galla* along with her. And when they had passed so many Seas and were arrived at *Theffalonica*, they sent an Embassy to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to beg of him, that now at least he would revenge the insolent injuries done to all *Valentinian*'s Family. Which when he heard, he was immediately astonished, and began a little to forget his extravagancy, laying some restraint upon his wild-inclination to pleasures; and having advised about it, 'twas thought fit that He with some of the Senate shoud go to *Theffalonica*. And so accordingly they did; and there consulted again what was to be done, till it was agreed as the unanimous consent of the Assembly, that *Maximus* should be punish'd for his offences. For they were of Opinion, that such a

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Man

Man ought not to live, who had not only kill'd *Gratian*, and usurped his Empire, but having succeeded in that, had made some farther progress, and deprived his Brother also of that Dominion which was left him. But though *Theodosius* was very much displeased at these things, yet through his natural effeminacy, and the negligent manage of his former life, he was loth to undertake a War, and told 'em the inconveniences that arise from civil broils, and how the Commonwealth must of necessity receive some fatal Wounds from both sides. Wherefore he said, it was best first to send an Embassy; and, if *Maximus* would deliver up the Empire to *Valentinian* and be quiet, that the Empire should be divided amongst 'em all as it was before; but if he would suffer himself to be overcome by covetousness, they would fight him without any more ado. Now ne'r a Man in the Senate durst speak a word against all this, because it seemed advantageous to the publick.

In the mean while *Justina*, who was a Person of good experience in things, and knew how to conduct her Affairs to the best purpose, understanding that *Theodosius* was very much inclined to Love, brought her Daughter *Galla*, who was a very beautiful Lady, into his presence,
and

and clasping the Emperor about the knees, most humbly beseeched him that he would not suffer either *Gratian's* Death (who gave him that Empire) to go unreveng'd, nor let them lie neglected, and destitute of all hopes. And as she spake those words, she shew'd him the Damsel, who was all in tears, bewailing her misfortunes. When *Theodosius* had heard this supplication of hers, and withal observ'd the beauty of the young Lady, he discover'd by his eyes the Wound that she had made in his Heart; but notwithstanding deferr'd that business till another time; and in the mean while gave 'em some cause to hope the best. But being more and more each day enflamed with a desire to the Damsel, he went to *Justina*, and requested of her that he might have her Daughter, since *Placilla* his former Wife was Dead. To which Demand of his she made answer, That she would not let him have her, unless he would levy War against *Maximus* to revenge *Gratian's* Death, and restore *Valentinian* to his Father's Throne. He therefore resolving to get her consent by these means, made it his whole business to prepare for a War. And being incited by a Woman, he not only obliged the Soldiers by increasing their Allowances, but he likewise corrected

cted his own remissness in other cases, since necessity forced him to it, resolving to take care of some things that would want looking after when he was gone. To which end, seeing *Cynegius*, the Prefect of the Court, had happen'd to die by the way as he was coming back from *Egypt*, he consulted who was fit to succeed him in that Office. And having taken frequent views of many Men, at length he found out one for his turn, called *Tatianus*, whom he sent for from *Aquileia*. For this *Tatianus* had born other Offices under *Valens* and was a good Man in all respects; wherefore *Theodosius* declared him Prefect of the Court all over the Countrey, and sending him the Ensigns of Magistracy made his Son *Proclus* Praetor or Governour of the City. And truly in this he did very well, in committing the greatest Offices to such good Men, who knew how to dispose of things very skilfully for the good of the Subjects when the Emperor was gone. He likewise took a care for the Army and made *Promotus* General of the Horse and *Timasius* of the Foot.

But just when all things were ready for his Journey, he heard, the *Barbarians*, who were mix'd among the *Roman Legions*, had been solicited by *Maximus* with

with promises of great Rewards if they would betray the Army. But they perceiving that the Design was discover'd, fled into the Fens and Bogs of *Macedonia*, where they hid themselves in the Woods. But being pursu'd, and search'd for with all diligence, they were most of them slain. So that the Emperour being freed from this fright, march'd with all resolution and his whole Army against *Maximus*; having first put *Fusina*, with her Son and Daughter on Ship-board, and committed 'em to the care of those, who would see 'em safe at *Rome*. For he believ'd that the *Romans* would receive 'em very gladly, because they were disaffected to *Maximus*. But he with his Army design'd to march through the upper *Pannonia*, and over the *Apennine Mountains* to *Aquileia*, that he might surprise the Enemy before they were prepared.

But whilst *Theodosius* was on his way, it happen'd that *Maximus* having heard that *Valentinian's* Mother with her Children, was like to cross the *Ionian Bay*, got together a convenient number of swift Chase-ships and gave 'em to *Andragathius*, whom he sent to hunt 'em out. But *Andragathius*, though he failed to and fro to all places, yet miss'd of his aim (for they were pass'd the *Ionian Streight* before)

fore) and therefore getting together a competent Navy, he sailed to all the Coasts thereabout, because he thought *Theodosius* would attaque 'em in a Sea-fight.

But whilst *Andragathius* was thus employ'd, *Theodosius* having passed through *Pannonia* and the Streights of the *Apennine Mountains*, set upon *Maximus's Army* before they expected, or were provided for him. And when some part of his Army, who ran as fast as they could, had got to the Walls of *Aquileia* and forced their passage through the Gates (for the Guards or Sentinels were too few to resist 'em) *Maximus* was pull'd down from his Imperial Throne, whilst he was beginning to distribute Money among his Soldiers, and being strip'd of his Imperial Robes was brought to *Theodosius*: who having recounted some few of his Crimes against the Publick by way of Reproach, deliver'd him to the common Hangman or Executioner, to suffer due punishment.

Now this was the end of *Maximus* and his usurp'd Dominion; who when he had craftily conquer'd *Valentinian*, dream'd he should easily subdue the whole *Roman Empire*. But then the Emperour *Theodosius* having heard that when *Maximus* came over the *Alps* he left his Son *Victor* there, whom he had honour'd with the Title of *Cæsar*,

Cæsar, he presently sent his General, called *Arbogastes*, who deprived the Youth not onely of his Dignity but his life too. Which when it was told to *Andragathius*, who was then a cruising in the *Ionian Bay*, it made him so sensible of ten thousand dangers which were like to befall him that he never stay'd to expect the Enemies coming, but was the Executioner of his own punishment; for he threw himself into the Sea, as chusing rather to trust the Waves than Men that were his greatest Enemies.

Then did *Theodosius* deliver to *Valentinian* as much of the Empire as ever his Father had; which was indeed but what a Man ought to do to those that have deserv'd well of him. And afterward having mingled all the choice of *Maximus's Soldiers* among his own, he sent *Valentinian* away into *Italy*, *Celtica*, and other parts to order such things as concern'd his share in the Empire. His Mother also went along with him, to supply, as much as in a Woman lay, what prudence he through want of age might lack.

But going himself back to *Thessalonica*, he found no small confusion in the Affairs of *Macedonia*. For all the *Barbarians* who had hid themselves in the Fens and the Woods lying near the Lakes, and had escaped

scaped the former incursion of the Romans, having got an opportunity when *Theodosius* was engaged in the Civil War, plunder'd all *Macedonia* and *Thessaly* without any opposition. But when they heard of the late Victory and that the Emperour was coming back again, they once more hid themselves in the Fens, and from thence stealing out privately at break of Day they carry'd off all that came in their way, and then they repaired to their usual places. Insomuch that the Emperor thought at last, that these, whoever they were, that sally'd out thus to pillage the Countrey, were rather Devils than Men. Wherefore being very doubtful in his mind he told no body his Design; but taking along with him five Horsemen, whom he order'd, each of 'em to lead three or four Horses (that so if any Horse tired, the Rider might have another to get upon, and the Horses by that means be able to sustein the fatigue of that enterprise which he intended) he gave no ground for suspicion that he was the Emperour, but went about the Countrey like any ordinary person: and if he or his Retinue at any time wanted meat, he begg'd of the Country people. At last he came to a small Inn, where an old Woman lived, and desired that she would let him into her House

House and give him some Drink: both which she did; and by that time she had entertain'd him very kindly with Wine and other things that she then by chance had in the House, it was almost Night, and so he desired her to let him lie there; to which the old Woman likewise consented; and the Emperour lay in a certain Room, where he saw a Man that said ne'r a word, but look'd as if he had nor a mind to be known. At which the Emperour wonder'd, and calling the old Woman to him, demanded of her who he was and whence he came? To which she reply'd, that she could not tell him either that, or why he came thither: but this she said she knew, that since the Emperour *Theodosius* and his Army return'd home, he had been her Guest and paid her every Day for his Diet, but had gone out every Day from Morning till Night and walk'd where he pleased, till Night, and then he used to come back again, as from some hard labour, and after he had eaten something, lay down in that posture which he now saw him in. When the Emperour had heard what the Woman said, he thought it convenient to make a farther enquiry into the busines; and taking hold of the Fellow bad him tell, who he was. And being he would not answer so much as one word,

he

he whip'd him out of design to make him confess. But the Fellow not yielding to that torment, he commanded his Horsemen to prick him with their Swords, and told him withal, that he was the Emperour, *Theodosius*. Whereupon, when the Man said he was the Spy for those *Barbarians* who were hid in the Fens, and gave 'em notice where he was, as also what Men or places it was convenient for 'em to attaque, the Emperour immediately cut off his Head.

And after that going to his Army which lay encamped nor far off, he brought his Soldiers to the place where he knew the *Barbarians* lived, and falling upon 'em kill'd every one of what age soever, dragging some out of the Fens where they were hid, and murthering others in the Water; so that there was a great slaughter of the *Barbarians*. Now the General, *Timasius*, who admired at the Emperours Valour, desired of him that he would let the Soldiers who were by this time hungry and not able to toil any longer in the Fens, have time to refresh themselves; to which the Emperour consenting, the Trumpet sounded a Retreat, which made the Soldiers leave their work and persecuting of the *Barbarians*. But when they had eaten and drank very plentifully,

plentifully, they were so overcome with Wine and weariness, that they fell fast asleep. Which when the *Barbarians* that were yet left perceiv'd, they took up Arms, and falling upon the Soldiers, who were already subdued by sleep and drunkennes, they punch'd 'em with Spears and Swords and every mortal Instrument, so long, till the Emperour himself had like to have been kill'd with all his Army, if some of those who had not yet Dined had not ran to the Emperours Tent, and told him what had happened. At which the Emperour being much troubled together with those that he had with him, resolved to avoid the approaching danger by a timely flight. But *Promotus* meeting 'em as they fled away (for the Emperour had sent for him) desired the Emperour to consult the safety both of himself and those that were about him; for that he would take care of the *Barbarians* and punish them for their obstinacy according to their deserts. Nor had he sooner said so, but he attaqued the *Barbarians*; and finding that they were still upon the sleeping Soldiers, made up to 'em with all speed, and kill'd so many of 'em, that few or none at all escaped safe into the Fens.

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Now

Now these were the most remarkable accidents, that befel the Emperour *Theodosius* after his return from killing *Maximus*. But when he came back to *Constantinople*, he was very proud of his Victory over *Maximus*; though he was so much concern'd for what the *Barbarians* in the Fens had done both to himself and all his Army, that he resolv'd to bid adieu to all Wars and fighting. Wherefore committing the care of those things to *Promotus*, he himself began to recollect his former way of living, and in rich Banquets, exquisite Pleasures, Theatrical Shows, and Horse-Races created to himself a great deal of delight. Which makes me wonder at this Mans inclination to both sides. For tho he were by nature slothful, and given to all idlenes, as well as other Vices, which I have told you of before, yet whensoever he had no sad accident, or formidable Object to molest him, he gave the loose to his Nature; but when he was in any stress, whereby the state of Affairs was like to be shaken, he laid aside his sluggishness, and bidding farewell to pleasures prepared himself for manly, hardy and troublesom enterprises. And notwithstanding that he was such a Man by what experience tells us, he would, when free from care, make himself a Slave to his natural Vices of ease and luxury. Now

Now of those that were Magistrates under him, *Rufinus* was counted the chiefeſt, who was by Nation a *Celtick*, and Master of the Court Guards: for the Emperour trusted him with all manner of things, and had little esteem for any one else; which vexed *Timasius* and *Promotus*, who after so many dangers that they had undergone for the publick good, were placed onely in the ſecond rank of Favourites. And this made *Rufinus* ſo proud and high-minded, that in a publick Assembly he cast forth very bold words againſt *Promotus*: Which *Promotus* being not able to endure gave him a ſwinging blow in the Face and wounded him. Whereupon *Rufinus* went immediately to the Emperour, and, ſhewing him his Face, put him into ſuch a fury, that he ſaid, If they had not laid aside their envy to *Rufinus*, they ſhould ere long ſee him Emperour. Which when *Rufinus* heard, who was upon other accounts also an Enemy to many more, through his excessive ambition to be above all, he persuaded the Emperour to command *Promotus* out of the Court to ſome place where he might live and exercise the Soldiers. And having obtain'd his desire, he ſet an Ambuſcade of *Barbarians* to wait for him as he was going into *Thrace*: who as they were commanded, attaueſd him

on a sudden and kill'd him. Him, who was a Man above the love of Riches, and had behaved himself sincerely both to the Commonwealth and the Emperours; but had the just reward of his folly, for serving those who disposed of the publick Affairs with so much sloth and impety.

When this Action was noised abroad, and got into every bodies mouth, though every modest, sober Man was troubled at such enormities, yet at the same time *Rufinus*, as if he had done some glorious Deed, was made Consul. And then *Tatianus*, with his Son *Procillus* (who had offended *Rufinus* upon no other score, than that being Prefects, the one of the Court, and the other of the City, they had discharged their Offices without any bribery and as much as possibly they could, according to their Duty.) were called into question without any reason. And to effect what was designed against them, *Tatianus* being first put out of his Place, was brought to his Trial, whilst *Rufinus* was made Prefect of the Imperial Court. Now though in appearance there were others commissionated as Judges in this Trial besides *Rufinus*, yet he alone had Authority to pass the Sentence. But when *Procillus* had discover'd the Design, he made his escape: upon which *Rufinus*, who thought him an indu-

industrious Man, and feared lest he might study some new way to give him disturbance, came to his Father *Tatianus*, and by deceitful Oaths made him believe whatever he said; nay, he persuaded the Emperour to give both the Father and the Son all hopes imaginable, till by this means he had cheated *Tatianus* out of a well-grounded suspicion into vain dreams of safety, and made him by Letters recal his Son. But as soon as *Procillus* came, he was laid hold on and put in Prison; and *Tatianus* being sent to live in his own Country, they had several Hearings of *Procillus*'s Cause, till at last the Judges, according to agreement between them and *Rufinus*, commanded him to be carried into the Suburbs, called *Sycæ*, and there put to death. Which when the Emperour heard of, he sent, forsooth, to recal the Sword from his Throat; but the Messenger went so slowly, by the Order of *Rufinus*, that *Procillus*'s head was cut off before he came to the place.

Now whilst these things were in action, the news was brought that the Emperor *Valentinian* was dead, and this was the manner of his death: *Arbogastes*, a Frank, who was made Lieutenant to *Baudo* by the Emperour *Gratian*, had, upon *Baudo*'s decease,

decease, in confidence of his own industry, made himself General, without the Emperour's leave. And being thought fit for the place by all the Soldiers under him, upon the account both of his Valour and knowledg in Military Affairs, as also his contempt of Riches, he grew into great Power; and was so very high, that he would speak his mind freely to the Emperour, and what he thought not well done, or as it ought to be, he would find fault with. Which *Valentinian* took so ill that he opposed him several times, and would have done him a diskindness but could not bring it about: for *Arbogastes* was fortified with the love of all the Soldiers. At length *Valentinian* who could no longer endure to be under his correction, seeing *Arbogastes* coming toward him as he sat in his Imperial Throne, look'd sternly upon him and gave him an Instrument whereby he casheered him from his Command; which when *Arbogastes* had read, he reply'd, Thou (said he) neither gavest me my Command, nor canst thou take it from me; and having so said, tore the Instrument in pieces, threw it down and went away. Now from that time they did not keep their suspicions to themselves, but their ill will to each other was publickly known: and *Valentinian*

nian sent frequent Letters to the Emperour *Theodosius*, to acquaint him with the arrogant saucy behaviour of *Arbogastes* toward the Majesty of an Emperour, and desired him withal to send him very speedily some assistance, or he swore, he would suddenly come and visit him. In the mean time *Arbogastes*, being in debate what course to take, came at last to this resolution. There was in the Court a certain Person, called *Eugenius*, who was so excellent a Scholar, that he professed Rhetorick and kept a School. This Person *Richomeris* had commended to *Arbogastes* as a kind, civil Man, to his own knowledg, and desired him to make him his familiar, being one that would not be useless to him if any thing should happen where the assistance of a real Friend were needful. By which means, when *Richomeris* was gone to the Emperour *Theodosius*, the daily conversation of these two made *Eugenius* *Arbogastes'* very great Friend, nor had he any secret but he trusted him with it. At this juncture therefore rememb'ring *Eugenius*, who by his extraordinary Learning and gravity of Conversation, seemed very fit to manage an Empire, he communicated to him his intentions. But seeing him not well pleased with what he proposed to him, he proceeded

ceeded to induce him by all the Arts he could, and begg'd of him not to reject what Fortune had so favourably offer'd. And when he had persuad'd him, he thought it best in the first place to remove *Valentinian*, and so to deliver up the sole Power to *Eugenius*. To which end he went to *Vienna*, a Town in *Gaul* where the Emperour was, and as he was playing at certain Sports near the Wall of the Town with some of the Soldiers, thinking nothing of it, he fell upon him, gave him a mortal wound and kill'd him. Which bold action of his the Soldiers said ne'r a word to, not onely because he was so great a Person, and such a Warlike Heroe, but because they loved him too for his contempt of Riches. Wherefore as soon as he had done the deed he declared *Eugenius* Emperour, and put 'em all in good hopes that he would prove a good Gover-nour, because he was so extraordinarily qualified.

When these things were related to the Emperour *Theodosius*, his Wife *Calla* put the whole Court into disorder by lamenting for the death of her Brother. And the Emperour also was full of grief and care, having not onely lost his Partner in the Government, who was a young Man and so nearly related to him, but like-wise

wife fallen into the hands of Men that were both disaffected to him, and besides that, invincible; for *Arbogastes* was bold and valiant, as *Eugenius* was learned and virtuous. But though he said thus to himself and often revolv'd it in his mind, yet he resolv'd (as it were) at once to throw the Dice for all he had, and therefore made all manner of preparation for a War. And in pursuance of his Design, he intended to make *Ricomeris* Commander of the Horse, having had experience of his courage in many Wars, and to make other Officers for the Legions. But *Ricomeris* dying of a Disease whilst he was consulting about these Affairs, he was fain to make choice of other Men. But whilst the Emperour was considering of it, there was news brought of an Embassy from *Eugenius*, to know of the Emperour *Theodosius*, whether he would admit *Eugenius* to Reign, or declare his Election void. Now the Person sent upon that Embassy was one *Rufinus*, an *Athenian*, who neither brought any Letters from *Arbogastes*, nor made any other mention of him. But whilst the Emperour delay'd the time to consult what he should do, or what Answer to make to the Embassadors, it happen'd that another thing also intervened, which was this: When *Theodosius* first came

came to be Emperour, he received some *Barbarians* into his friendship and Alliance, whom he obliged both with hopes and large Presents; nor was he wanting by all civilities to endear the Officers of each Nation, but admitted 'em even to his Table with him. But there arose a debate among 'em in which they maintain'd two different Opinions. For some of 'em said, it was better break their Oaths, that they had taken, when they made themselves subject to the *Romans*; whilst others, on the contrary, said, they ought by no means to do any thing against their own agreement. Now he that was for trampling upon his Promise, and persuaded all his Countrymen to do the same, was one *Priulfus*; as on the other side, *Fraustius* maintain'd that they ought to stand by what they had sworn. But it was a long time before any one knew, that there was such a Controversie among 'em; till on a time when they were at the Emperour's Table, and had drank more than ordinary, they broke out into a quarrel with each other, and declar'd their Opinions; so that the Emperour, when he knew the mind of every particular Man, put an end to the Entertainment. But as they went from the Court, they grew into such an heat, that *Fraustius*, not able

able to endure it any longer, drew out his Sword and kill'd *Priulfus*. And seeing his Soldiers would have set upon *Fraustius*, the Emperour's Guards stood between and would not suffer the mutiny to proceed any farther: though when the Emperour heard of it, he did not much regard what they had done, but let the quarrelsom fools kill one another as they would. In the mean time having deceiv'd the Embassadors with Presents and fair words that seemed to have a great deal of moderation in them, he sent 'em home; and, as soon as they were gone, went on with his Warlike preparations. But thinking that his chief business was, the choice of Captains, as indeed it is, he made *Timafus* Commander of the *Roman Army*; and next to him, *Stilico* (who married *Serena* the Daughter of *Theodosius* the Emperour's Brother) putting his Allies the *Barbarians* under the conduct of *Gaines* and *Saul*, with whom also *Bacurius* was in the same Commission; who was of *Armenian* extract, but a Man free from all ill inclinations, besides his skill in military Affairs.

When he had thus made choice of his grand Officers, and was making what haste he could toward his marching out, it happen'd

happen'd that his Wife *Galla* died in Child-bed, and was no sooner eas'd of her burthen but she was deprived of her life also. Upon which occasion when the Emperour had mourned for her a whole Day (according to *Homers* rule) he went away with his Army to the War; but left his Son *Arcadius* behind him, who was some time before made Emperour. But because he was young his Father thought fit to cure, as it were, the defects of his nonage, by leaving *Rufinus* with him, who was not onely Prefect of the Court, and did what he pleased, but even as much as the power of Majesty enabled the Emperour himself to do. And having done thus, he took his younger Son *Honorius* along with him, soon pass'd the intermediate Countries, and having beyond all hopes got over the *Alps*, he arrived where the Enemy lay, insomuch that *Eugenius* was amazed to see him there whom he so little expected. Now since he was there and consequently must fight, He thought it best to put his *Barbarian* Forces, in the Fore-lorn-Hope, and exposed them first, and therefore commanded *Gaines* with the Nations under his Command to make the first attaque, and that the other Captains should follow him as many as command-

ed *Barbarian* Soldiers, whether Horse, Horse-Bowmen, or Foot. Then did *Eugenius* also draw out his Men, and when the two Armies were engaged, there was such an Eclipse of the Sun at the very time of the Fight, that above half the while it look'd more like Night than Day. And therefore seeing they fought a kind of a nocturnal Battel, they made such a mighty slaughter, that the same Day the greater part of *Theodosius's* Allies were slain, and their Commander *Bacurius* also, who fought very stoutly in the head of 'em; whilst the remaining part of 'em escaped very narrowly with the rest. When therefore Night came on and the Armies had rallied their Forces, *Eugenius* was so proud of his Victory that he distributed Money among those that had behaved themselves best in the Battel, and gave 'em time to sup: as if, after such a Defeat there were like to be no fighting. But whilst they were at Meat, the Emperour *Theodosius*, who saw it was almost break of Day, fell upon the Enemies with all his Forces, whilst they were yet lying down upon the ground, and kill'd 'em before they could tell what hurt 'em. And then going on even to *Eugenius's* Tent, where he set upon those that were about him, killing many of 'em, he also took some of 'em that were running away.

away for fear; among whom *Eugenius* was one: whom when they had gotten into their hands, they cut off his Head and carry'd it upon a long Spear about all the Camp, to shew those who were yet his Friends, how they ought, as *Romans*, to be reconciled to the Emperour, especially now, since the Usurper was removed. Whereupon almost all those that were left after the Victory ran over to the Emperour, and shouting call'd him *Augustus*, beseeching him likewise to pardon 'em for what they had been guilty of: to which the Emperour very easily assented. But *Arbogastes* who had no mind to try the Emperour's good nature fled up into the most craggy Mountains; where when he perceiv'd that they went about in all places to search for him, he stabb'd himself, as choosing rather to die a voluntary death than to be taken by the Enemy.

. When things had thus succeeded to the Emperour *Theodosius*, he went to *Rome*, where he declared his Son *Honorius* Emperour, made *Stilico* General of all the Forces there, and left him as Tutor to his Son. But before he went away he call'd the Senate together, (who stuck close to their ancient Country Rites and Customs, nor could be persuaded to joyn with them, that seem'd any way to incline toward

ward a contempt of the Gods) and in an Oration exhorted 'em to relinquish their former Error (as he call'd it) and embrace the Christian faith, which promises remission of all sins and impieties. But seeing ne'r a Man of 'em would be persuad'd to it, nor recede from their ancient Ceremonies which had been deliver'd down to 'em ever since their City was built, and prefer an irrational assent before 'em (for they said, they had lived almost one thousand two hundred years in the observation of 'em, in all which time their City was never conquer'd, and therefore if they should change them for others, they could not tell what might come of it) *Theodosius* told 'em, that the Treasury was too much drain'd by the expences that were occasion'd in holy Rites and Sacrifices, and that he would therefore abolish them, because he neither thought what they did there commendable, nor could the Soldiers necessities spare so much Money. To which though the Senate reply'd, that Sacrifices were not rightly perform'd unless the Charges were from the publick Stock, yet for this reason the Law for performance of holy Rites and Sacrifices was repealed and is out of date, besides other things that lay neglected which they received from their Forefathers; insomuch

somuch that the *Roman Empire* being wasted by degrees is become the habitation of *Barbarians*, or rather having quite lost all its Inhabitants is reduced to such a form, that a Man cannot tell where the Cities formerly stood. Now that things were brought into such a sad condition will appear by a particular account of them. But the Emperour *Theodosius* having deliver'd up *Italy*, *Spain*, the *Celtis*, and all *Libya* to *Honorius* his Son, died of a Distemper in his return to *Constantinople*: but his Body was embalm'd and buried in the Imperial Sepulchres at that City.

A New HISTORY Written by Count ZOSIMUS, Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Fifth Book.



OW when the whole Empire was in the hands of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, they seemed indeed by their Stile and Title to be invested with Power, though in reality the universal administration of Affairs was managed, in the East, by *Rufinus*, and in the West, by *Stilico*. And by them were all Causes determined, even as they pleas'd; for he
X that

that bribed lustily, or by any other means of friendship or Relation could make the Judg his Advocate was sure to carry the day. From whence it came to pass, that all those great Estates, which made the Possessors of 'em so generally accounted happy Men, devolv'd unto these two; since some by reconciling gifts sought to avoid false accusations, and others parted with all they had to get an Office, or any other way to purchase the ruin of such and such Cities. Whilst therefore all sort of iniquity reign'd in the several Cities, the Money flow'd from every quarter into the Houses of *Rufinus* and *Stilico*: as, on the contrary, Poverty still prey'd upon the habitations of them who had been formerly Rich. Nor did the Emperors know of any thing that was done, but thought all that *Rufinus* and *Stilico* commanded, was done as it were by virtue of some unwritten Law. But after that they had gather'd up an infinite mass of Wealth, *Rufinus* began to dream of getting to be Emperour by a design which he had of making his own Daughter, who was now marriagable, the Emperor's Wife: for that he thought would be a good ground for his pretensions to the Government. In order whereunto he privately mention'd the thing through some of those that waited

ed upon the Emperour, supposing himself that no body saw what he aimed at, though the report of it was spread all over the Town. For all Men guessed at his intentions by his pride and arrogance, which swell'd and increased every day so much, that he was generally hated more and more. Yet he notwithstanding, as though he had a mind industriously to disguise small faults with greater enormities, was so bold as to do another thing, which was this :

Florentius, who had been Prefect of the Court in the Countries beyond the *Alps*, when the great *Julian* was *Cæsar*, had a Son call'd *Lucianus*, who had made use of *Rufinus* as his Patron, and given him the best part of his Estate. For which *Rufinus* upon all occasions professed a great deal of kindness to the young Gentleman, and was always a commending him to the Emperour *Arcadius*: who made him Count [or Earl] of the East; which is a Dignity that impowers every one on whom it is conferr'd, to govern all Prefects of Provinces through the East, and to correct whatever is done amiss. *Lucianus* therefore shewing all that virtue which becomes a Governour toward those that are under him, was famous for his Justice, temperance, and all other endowments that can

adorn a good Magistrate; having neither respect to persons, or any other thoughts but what the Law suggested to him. And this was the reason that when *Euckerius* the Emperour's Uncle desired him to do a thing which was not fitting for him to comply with, he gave him a repulse, and thereby vexed him to such a degree that he traduced him to the Emperour. Whereupon seeing the Emperour said, *Rufinus* was the cause of it, who had bestow'd so much power upon such a Person, *Rufinus* took an occasion (as if sooth he had mightily resented the blame which the Emperour laid upon him) and without telling any body what his design was, went with a very small Retinne to *Antioch*: where having enter'd the City at midnight he laid hold upon *Lucianus* and without any accusation at all, brought him to his Trial. After which he commanded him to be drubb'd in the Neck with leaden balls till he fainted; and then caused him to be carried in a Litter, all cover'd over, to make people think that he was not yet dead, and should receive some real act of humanity. But the City was so very much disgusted at the unusual manner of his proceeding, that he was fain to sweeten the people by building an Imperial Portico, than which there is no finer

finer structure in the whole City. And when he had so done he return'd to *Constantinople*, where he solicited his Affairs in order to an affinity between him and the Emperour, to whom he endeavour'd now more than ever to give his Daughter in marriage. But Fortune order'd the matter another way, *Rufinus* fail'd of his expectation by this means. *Promotus* had two Sons, who whilst *Theodosius* was yet alive, were brought up along with his Children. Now the one of these Persons had a Damsel in his House who was extraordinary beautiful; whom *Eutrepis* one of the Eunuchs that waited upon the Emperour, advised him to make his Wife, not without great commendations of her beauty. And seeing that the Emperour took what he said with some kind of relish, he shew'd him the Damsels Picture; whereby he enflamed *Arcadius* with a passion so much greater for the Lady that at last he persuaded him into a resolution to marry her: whilst *Rufinus*, in the mean time, knew nothing of the matter, but thought his own Daughter would very shortly be Empress, and that he himself should ere long be a Partner in the Empire. But the Eunuch as soon as he saw that he had made up the match which he himse'f design'd, commanded the people

to dance about and carry Garlands in their hands, as they used to do upon their Emperor's Wedding-days; and having gotten an Imperial Robe with other Attire fit for an Empress out of the Palace, which he gave to the Emperor's Servants to carry, he went through the City with the people before him. And whereas they all supposed that those things were to be presented to *Rufinus's* Daughter, and ran along with those that carry'd 'em, yet when they were come to *Promotus's* House, they went in there with the nuptial Presents, and delivering them to the Damsel, that lived there with *Promotus's* Son, they shew'd who was like to be the Emperor's Wife. By which means *Rufinus* being frustrated of all his hopes, when he saw another Woman Empress, made it his business to find out a way how to remove *Eutropius*.

And thus did things stand in that part of the Empire which was under the Government of *Arcadius*; whilst *Stilico*, who was Gouvernour of the Western Empire, gave his Daughter, that he had by *Serena*, in marriage to the Emperour *Honorius*. Now this *Serena* was the Daughter of *Honorius*, who was Brother to *Theodosius*, the Father of the two Emperours. by which Relation to the Emperour *Stilico* having strengthen'd his Authority, he

he had likewise almost all the Roman Army under his Command. For *Theodosius* dying in Italy after he had taken off *Eugenius*, this *Stilico* was general of the whole Army, out of which he selected all the strongest and most Warlike Soldiers, whom he kept with him, sending all the weaker part and the very refuse into the East. Which when he had done, being very angry with *Rufinus*, who had a mind to be invested with a Power in the East, that might ballance his in the West, he resolv'd to go to *Arcadius*, desiring to have the disposal of all his Affairs too according to his own will and pleasure. For he said, That when *Theodosius* was upon his Death bed, he gave him charge to take a special care of all the Affairs belonging to both the Emperours. Which when *Rufinus* understood, he endeavour'd by all the art he could to hinder *Stilico's* expedition into the East; as likewise to disperse and weaken the Military power of *Arcadius*. And indeed whilst he was a contriving all this, he found Men for his turn more wicked than he desired, by whose assistance he was the cause of great calamities to the Romans: As how, I'll tell you.

The History Book V.

Musonius, a Grecian, who was an incomparable Scholar, had three Sons, whose names were *Musonius*, *Antiochus*, and *Axiochus*: of whom *Musonius* and *Axiochus* endeavour'd to out-do their Fathers Virtues both in their Learning and integrity. But *Antiochus* was pleased with all the contrary courses, being an Instrument of wickedness onely. Wherefore *Rufinus* finding him fit for his purpose, made him Pro-Consul of *Greece*, because he had a mind that the *Barbarians* when they came in should have no great trouble in laying of it waste; and committed the Garison at *Thermopylæ* to the care of *Gerontius*, who would be serviceable in all his Designs against the Commonwealth. And when *Rufinus* had devised these wicked projects, seeing *Alarichus* grew seditious and disobedient to the Laws (for he took it very ill, that he was not made Captain of some other Military Forces, besides those *Barbarians* which *Theodosius* gave him, when he help'd to remove the Tyrant *Eugenius*) he gave him private notice, that he would have him bring forth his *Barbarians*, and all other assistance of what Nation soever they were for that he might easily make himself Master of all that Countrey. Whereupon *Alarichus* march'd out of *Thrace* into *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*,

Book V. of Count ZOSIMUS.

Thessaly, destroying all things by the way. But when he came near to *Thermopyle*, he sent a private Message to *Antiochus* the Pro Consul, and *Gerontius* the Governour of the Garison at *Thermopylæ*, to inform 'em of his approach. Which news *Gerontius* no sooner heard, but he and his Guards march'd off, and left a free passage for the *Barbarians* into *Greece*. Where when they were arrived, they immediately fell to plunder the Country, and sack all the Towns, killing all the Men both young and old, and carrying away all the Women and Children (together with all the Money) in whole droves. In which expedition all *Bœotia*, and whatsoever *Greek* Countries the *Barbarians* passed through after their entrance at *Thermopylæ*, were so depopulated, that the ruins are to be seen even to this day, excepting onely *Thebes*, which was saved partly by its own strength and partly by the haste which *Alarichus* was in to go and take *Athens*, and therefore would not stay to besiege this City. Wherefore the *Thebans* having thus escaped him, he went to *Athens*, supposing he should easily take that City, which by reason of its largeness could not well be defended; nor being contiguous to the *Pyræus*, could it long hold out for want of necessaries before it wold surrender.

The History Book V.

Thus did *Alarichus* hope: but the Antiquity of the City, even amidst all these impious designs, was able to call forth the very Divine Providence to its aid, and thereby preserve it. Concerning which it is worth ones while to give you an account of the cause whereby the City was saved, as being supernatural, godlike, and apt to excite all those that hear it to Devotion: [and thus it happen'd.] When *Alarichus* came with all his Forces to the City, He saw *Minerva*, their Tutelar Goddess walking about the Wall in that very shape that you may see her among the Statues of the Deities, [which is] arm'd, and ready to attaque all those that oppose her: and before the Walls [he saw] *Achilles* standing in such an Heroick posture, as *Homer* shew'd him to the *Trojans* when he fought against them so furiously to revenge the death of *Patroclus*. Which Sight *Alarichus* being not able to endure, desisted from all attempts upon the City, and sent out Heralds to offer terms of peace: which they receiving, and having mutually given their Oaths to each other, *Alarichus* enter'd *Athens* with a small number of Men. Where being entertain'd with all kind of civility, he wash'd himself, and was treated by the best of the City; after which also he received certain

Book V. of Count ZOSIMUS.

tain Presents and went away, leaving the City and all *Attica* unhurt, untouched. Now the City of *Athens* was the onely place which was saved in the Earthquake that happen'd under the Reign of *Valens*, and shook all *Greece*, as I told you in the precedent Book; and escaped also at this time, though it was in such extremity of danger.

Alarichus therefore having left all *Attica* unwasted, for fear of the Apparitions which he saw, pass'd on to *Megaris*; which he took upon the first attempt, and so went toward *Peloponnesus*, having no body in his way that would resist him. And when *Gerontius* had given him leave to pass over the *Isthmus*, all the Towns beyond that were capable of being taken without the trouble of a fight, because they were unwalled, and confided onely in the security which they receiv'd from the *Isthmus*. For which reason *Corinth* was first storm'd and immediately taken, with the small Towns adjacent: and after that, *Argos*, with all the places between that and *Lacedæmon*. Nay even *Sparta* it self came in for a share in the common captivity of all *Greece*, as being no longer fenced either with Arms, or Warlike Men (through the covetousness of the *Romans*) but exposed to Magistrates who were

were treacherous, and would readily serve their Governor's voluptuous inclination in all things that conduced to publick ruin, and destruction.

Rufinus, when he heard of the calamities which had befallen *Greece*, was still more desirous to be Emperour. For now that the Commonwealth was in an uproar, he thought there would be nothing in the way to hinder such an enterprise. But *Stilico*, having put a considerable number of Soldiers on board a convenient number of Ships, made haste to assist the *Achaeans* in their Affliction. And being arrived at *Peloponnesus*, he forced the *Barbarians* to fly into *Pholoe*, where he had easily cut 'em all off for want of provisions, had he not given himself to luxury, mimickry, and lewd Women; and permitted his Soldiers not onely to plunder what the *Barbarians* left, but thereby also to give the Enemy time to depart out of *Peloponnesus*, and marching with all their Spoils into *Epirus* to pillage all the Towns in that Country. Which when *Stilico* heard that they had done, he sailed away into *Italy* without doing any execution, save onely, that he brought upon the *Grecians* much greater and more grievous calamities by means of the Soldiers that he took thither along with him.

And

And when he came into *Italy*, he immediately resolv'd to contrive *Rufinus's* death, and that in this manner. He told the Emperour *Honorius* that it was convenient for him to send some Auxiliary Legions to his Brother *Arcadius*, to defend the miserable Nations under his Dominion. And being by the Emperour order'd to do as he thought fitting, he gave command what Men should be sent in that Affair, making *Gaines* their General, to whom he told what his Design was upon *Rufinus*. When therefore the Soldiers were come near to *Constantinople*, *Gaines* went before and told the Emperour *Arcadius* of their approach, and how they came with a desire to assist him in his necessity. Whereupon the Emperour being pleas'd at their coming, *Gaines* advised him to go and meet 'em as they were just entring the City: for he said, it was a customary honour which was usually bestow'd upon the Soldiers in such a case. Insomuch that the Emperour was persuaded to it, and going out to meet 'em before the City they all paid their obeisance to him, which he on the other side as graciously received; till at last, when *Gaines* gave the Signal, they all fell upon *Rufinus*, and getting him among 'em so slash'd him with their Swords that one cut off his right hand, another his

his left, a third divided his head from his sholders and went his way singing Triumphant Songs. Nay they reproach'd him so much even after he was dead, as to carry his hand all about the City, and ask all they met to give something to an insatiable Miser.

And thus *Rufinus*, who was the cause of many intolerable calamities to private persons, as well as author of publick mischief, suffer'd the just punishment due to his wicked Deeds. Whilst in the mean time *Eutropius*, who was an Instrument in all *Stilico*'s Designs against *Rufinus*, was Overseer and Ruler of all things that were done in the Court. Who though he made *Rufinus*'s Estate for the most part his own, yet he permitted others also to take as much of it as it was fit for them to have. But *Rufinus*'s Wife with her Daughter ran into a Church belonging to the Christians, for fear of perishing with her Husband; till *Eutropius* promised 'em that they should sail unmolested to *Jerusalem*, which was once a receptacle and habitation for *Jews*, but since the Reign of *Constantine* has been adorn'd with Strutures built by the Christians. And here did they two spend the rest of their days. Whilst in the mean time *Eutropius* having a mind to remove all persons who were

of

of any account, that no Man else might be so great with the Emperour as himself, he laid a Plot against *Timasius*, who had been a General ever since the Reign of *Valens* and in many a Battel, without any reason of it: and the false Accusation was this:

One *Bargus*, a Native of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, who sold Sauceages, being caught in some misdemeanors there fled from *Laodicea* to *Sardeis*: where seeing he appear'd in his own colours, he was famous for his Roguery. *Timasius* therefore, coming to *Sardeis*, and seeing this Fellow, who was a witty Villain and cunning enough to flatter any body into a kindness for him, he made him his familiar, and in a short time gave him the Command of a Company. Nor onely so, but took him also along with him to *Constantinople*: where though the Magistrates did not approve of his so doing, (for *Bargus* had been formerly banish'd *Constantinople* upon the account of some Villanies which he had committed) yet *Eutropius* [was well enough pleas'd that] he had found a Man fit for him to make use of in his false Accusation against *Timasius*, and therefore set him up for the Informer, with a Libel in his Hand, to impeach *Timasius* of Treason for aiming and desiring to be Em-

Emperour. Now in this case the Emperour sat as President of the Court; but *Eutropius* stood by him, who was the Imperial Chamberlain, and had full Authority to pass the Sentence. But seeing all the people were displeas'd, that a Sauceage-mon-
ger should accuse a Person who had been so great, and honourable, the Emperour went out of the Court, and left the whole matter to *Saturninus* and *Procopius*. Of whom the former was very old and had born several Offices of great importance, though not without flattery, and being used even in judicial Cases to humour them who were the Emperour's chief Creatures. But *Procopius*, on the other hand, who was Father-in-law to the Emperour *Valens*, was a morose, stubborn Man, and in some things seemed to speak the truth boldly: insomuch that upon this occasion being brought in for a Judg in the case of *Timafus*, he objected to *Saturninus*, That *Bargus* was not a fit person to accuse *Timafus*, or that a person who had born so many great Offices and a Man of so much honour should be destroy'd upon the false accusation of such a pitiful, base Fellow, or (which was the greatest absurdity of all) that a Benefa-
ctor should suffer by him that he had been kind to. But *Procopius* got nothing by

by taking this freedom to speak; since *Saturninus*'s Opinion prevail'd and was commended.

Timafus therefore was sentenced to live in *Oasis*, and sent thither with the common Guard upon him. Now this *Oasis* was a sad barren place, from whence no Man could ever return that was once carry'd into it. For the way thither being sandy, desert, and uninhabited, makes people who go to *Oasis* that they cannot tell which way they travel, or where the Road is; because the Wind fills the tracts of peoples feet with sand, nor is there any Tree or House to direct 'em. Yet there was a common report that *Timafus* was rescu'd by his Son *Syagrius*, who having escaped from those that were sent to search for him, made use of certain Robbers to rescue his Father. But whether that be true, or whether they spread such a rumour abroad to gratifie *Eutropius*, no body certainly knows; save onely thus much, that neither *Timafus* nor *Syagrius* have ever been seen from that time to this. In the mean time *Bargus*, who had freed *Eutropius* from all suspicion, or fear of *Timafus*, was made Colonel of a Legion, which brought him in a good sum of Money, though he was so foolish to hope for more still by way of Present. For he did

not consider, that *Eutropius*, who had found him to be such a Rascal to his Benefactor *Timasius*, expected him to be no less toward him also. When therefore *Bargus* was gone from home about the Affairs relating to his Office, *Eutropius* periuaded his Wife, who was fallen out with him about something or other, to present an Information to the Emperour, with many Accusations in it, to impeach *Bargus* of the greatest Crimes imaginable. Which when *Eutropius* heard [read over before the Emperour] he immediately brought *Bargus* to his trial, and upon conviction, deliver'd him over to be punish'd according as he deserv'd: Whereupon all Men both admired and praised the Eye of *Adraſtia* [i. e. the All seeing Justice of God] which no wicked Man can escape [as the word *Adraſtia* signifies.]

But whilst *Eutropius* was, as it were, drunk with Riches and seemed in his own conceit to be elevated even above the Clouds, he had his Spies in almost all Countries to make enquiry how things were carry'd, and what every particular Mans condition was; nor was there any thing at all but brought him in some profit, or other. Wherefore his envy and his covetousness together set him against *Abundantius* also; who was born in that part of *Scythia* which

which lies in *Thrace*, but had been a Soldier ever since the Reign of *Gratian*, received great Honours under *Theodosius*, and was at that time chosen General and *Coniui*. But *Eutropius* having a mind to deprive him at once both of his Estate and Honour, the Emperour commanded at least by Writing that it should be so; and *Abundantius* being presently banish'd the Court, was order'd to live at *Sidon* in *Phænicia* all the rest of his days. By which means though *Eutropius* had no body at *Constantinople* that durst so much as look at him; yet he remember'd that *Stilico* was Lord of all things in the West, and therefore contrived how to prevent his coming to *Constantinople*. To which purpose he persuad'd the Emperour, to call a Senate, and by a publick Decree declare *Stilico* an Enemy to the Empire. Which being done, he immediately made *Gildo* (who was Governour of all that part of *Africa* that belongs to *Carthage*) his Friend, and by his assistance dividing that Country from the Dominions of *Honorius* he added it to the Empire of *Arcadius*. Whereat when *Stilico* was mighty troubled, and could not tell what in the World to do, there happen'd an extraordinary accident. For *Gildo* had a Bro-

ther, called *Masceldelus*, against whom through the barbarous fury of his disposition he had laid a design, and thereby forced him to sail into *Italy* to *Stilico*, to complain of his Brother's severity. Which he no sooner had done, but *Stilico* gave him a good competent number of Men and Ships and sent him to fight *Gildo*. And when he came to the place where he heard his Brother lay, he set upon him with his whole Forces before he was ready for the Battel; and after a sharp Engagement, defeated him to such a degree, that *Gildo* hang'd himself; as choosing rather to do so, than come into the hands of his Enemies. Now by means of this Victory *Gildo*'s Brother restored *Africa* to *Honorius* and sailed back into *Italy*: where though *Stilico* envied him for his great Atchievement, yet he pretended a kindness for him, of which he at least gave him good hopes. But as he was afterward going one day into some place in the Suburbs, and was got upon the Bridg that is over the River there, where among others *Masceldelus* also attended upon him, the Guards, in obedience to the Signal which *Stilico* gave 'em, thrust *Masceldelus* into the River, whilst the former laugh'd, and the latter was choaked by the violence of the stream.

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Now from this time forward the enmity between *Eutropius* and *Stilico* was very manifest, and in every bodies mouth. But though they were disaffected to each other, yet in this agreed, to insult with all security over the miseries of the Subjects; whil'st the one [that is, *Stilico*] had married his Daughter *Mary* to the Emperour *Honorius*, and the other ruled *Arcadius*, as if he had been a Sheep, [or any other the like tame Creature]. For whether any of the Subjects had a finer Seat than ordinary, to be sure one of them was Master of it, or whether there were any Silver or Gold stirring, it all flow'd from the former possessors of it, into their Coffers: for there were great numbers of Sycophants [*i. e.* false Accusers] in all places, who were order'd to give notice of such things.

But seeing the Emperour on both sides in this condition, all those of the Senatorian Order were sorry that things were in such bad circumstances, especially *Gaines*, who had neither Honour enough for a Commander of his age, nor would be satisfied with all the gifts that were or could be bestowed upon him, his barbarous Avarice was so insatiable. But that which stung him more than all the rest, was, that all the Money flow'd into *Eutropius's*

tropius's House. For these reasons being very much enraged he made *Tribigildus* partner in his Design : who was a Man very daring and ready to undertake any hazardous Exploit ; but he commanded *Barbarians* (not *Romans*) who were posted in *Phrygia*, where he had the care of 'em committed to him by the Emperour. Now this same *Tribigildus* pretending he would go into *Phrygia* to take a view of the *Barbarians* who were under his command, went out from *Cognac in ample* upon that account. And having taken those *Barbarians* whom he commanded along with him, he attaquea all places or persons that he met with by the way, nor did he contain himself from the murder of Men, Women, and Children, but destroy'd all before him, and in a little time got together such a multitude of Slaves and other abject Fellows, that he put all *Asia* into extream danger. For not onely all *Lydia* was full of Tumults, seeing all the Inhabitants (in a manner) were fled to the Sea coasts, from whence they and their Families sailed all into the Islands or elsewhere ; but even all *Asia* that lay upon the Sea expected to see such approaching danger as they had never yet beheld. Nor when these things were told the Emperor did he take any pity on the common calamity

lamity (for indeed he was not capable of understanding what was fit to be done, being so extreamly foolish as he was) but gave *Eutropius* the whole administration of the Empire. Which when he had obtain'd, he chose *Gaines* and *Leo* to be his Generals, with a design to send the one of 'em into *Asia* to attaque the *Barbarians*, or other promiscuous people that had taken possession of it ; but to send *Gaines* through *Thrace*, and the Streights of the *Hellespont*, to meet the Enemy if he saw that they were troublesom in those places.

But *Leo*, who was appointed to assist in the emergencies of *Asia*, was a Man of no military conduct at all, nor endued with any other qualification, that might deserve to have raised him to his present fortune, save onely that he was *Eutropius's* familiar Friend. But however he upon that onely reason was employ'd ; and *Gaines* was sent into *Thrace*, to obstruct *Tribigildus* and his men from passing over the *Hellespont*, and to fight 'em by Sea if occasion were. Now when these Commanders were thus instructed, they led away their Forces to their several Posts : whilst *Gaines* rememb'ring the compact betwixt him and *Tribigildus*, and that the time was at hand wherein he was to put

the design in execution, commanded *Tribigildus* to draw his Army toward the *Hellespont*. And [I believe [had he concealed what he intended against the Commonwealth, and gone quietly out of *Constantinople* with his *Barbarians*, his whole design had taken effect; nor was there any thing to hinder but that all *Asia* might have been seized by him and even the whole East at the same time destroy'd. But seeing Fortune at that time was pleas'd to preserve those Cities to the *Roman Government*, this *Gaines* was overborn by his hot furious nature as a *Barbarian*, and went from *Constantinople*, with almost all his Warlike Power. And when he came almost to *Heraclea*, he advertised *Tribigildus* what to do. But he resolv'd not to go toward *Hellespont* by any means, for fear of lighting upon the Forces that were posted thereabout; and therefore when he had destroy'd all *Pbrygia*, he set upon *Pisidia*; where meeting with no obstacle he pillaged all the Country and went away.

Which news though *Gaines* heard, he was not any way concern'd for the ravage which had been committed, because he remember'd the agreement betwixt him and *Tribigildus*. But *Leo* in the mean time stay'd in the parts adjacent to the *Helle-spont*, and not only durst not fight *Tribi-gildus*,

gildus, but said likewise, He was afraid, lest *Tribigildus* should send out some part of his Army another way and waste all the Country near the *Hellespont* before they were aware of him. By which means it so happen'd, that *Tribigildus* took all the Towns without any let or hinderance, and kill'd all the Inhabitants together with the Soldiers; nor was there ever a *Barba-rian* that fought for the *Gaines*. For they mingled themselves in the several conflicts among those of their own Nation, and op-posed the *Roman Subjects*.

In the mean while *Gaines*, though he seemed to be sorry for the misfortunes of the *Romans*, yet he pretended to admire the Stratagems and Prowess of *Tribigil-dus*, declaring him to be invincible upon the account of his prudence, and that he overcame them more by his conduct than his strength. And therefore when he was got over into *Asia*, he made no attempt upon any one, but slighted and neglected the ruin of the Towns and Countries. Nor did he do any more than just follow the Enemy, and behave himself somewhat like a bare Spectator of the action, expecting when *Tribigildus* would go into the East, and sending forces to him privately to assist him in his enterprises, having not yet discover'd his Opinion as to the present state

state of Affairs. Now if *Tribigildus* had gone into *Phrygia* and so, not into *Pisidia*, but strait into *Lydia*, he could have met with no obstacle, but, when he had made himself Master of that, might have destroy'd *Ionia* too. And from thence passing by Sea into the Isles where he might have got what shipping he had pleas'd, it had been easy for him to have over run all the East, and pillaged every Country betwixt that and *Egypt*, seeing there was no Army able to cope with him. But he not thinking of these things, and resolving to march into *Pamphilia* which borders upon *Pisidia*, litt into cumbersom ways, where his Horse could by no means pass. But seeing that no Army withstood them, one *Valentine*, of *Selga* (which is a little Town in *Pamphilia*, standing upon an Hill) who was a pretty good Scholar, and not altogether unskilful in military Affairs, gather'd together a company of Slaves and Country fellows, who had been used continually to fight against the Robbers thereabouts, and posted them upon the Hills above those places through which *Tribigildus* was to march; in such a manner that they could see every one who passed that way, but no body could see them, though the Enemy march'd by in the day-time. *Tribigildus* therefore with his
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Barbarians, taking the plainer way into the lower parts of *Pamphilia*, and coming in the Night-time into the Fields under *Selga*, the *Barbarians* were severely pelted with Slings that threw stones down upon 'em as much as a Man can grasp ana bigger: For from that higher ground it was easy to cast stones a little bigger than ordinary. Now therefore seeing there was no way to escape (for on the one side of the way there was a deep Lake and Fens, and on the other a steep, narrow pass, that would scarce admit two Men a breast (which ascent because it is roundish and winding, the Natives call, *The Snail*, from the similitude it bears to that Animal) where one *Florentius* was planted with Men enough to hinder all such as should attempt to come that way) the *Barbarians* being pent up in thele places, and continually pelted with abundance of huge stones, were most of them knock'd on the head. For, being they were so streighten'd for room, the stones that fell from above could not miss of killing one or other of 'em. And therefore not knowing what in the earth to do, most of 'em threw themselves and their Horses into the Lake, and to avoid Death by the stones, perish'd in the Fens: whilst *Tribigildus* with three hundred Men got up upon

upon the *Snail*, where he corrupted *Florentius* and the Guards that were with him for a vast Sum of Money to let them pass: and when he by this means had escap'd, he suffer'd all the rest to be utterly destroy'd. But though *Tribigildus* thought that he hereby had freed himself from all the danger which *Valentine* brought upon him, yet he fell headlong presently into far greater perils than the former. For almost all the Inhabitants of the several Towns, arming themselves with what came next to hand, inclosed him and the three hundred Men who escaped along with him between the Rivers *Melanes* and *Eurymedon*, of which the one runs above *Sida*, and the other through *Aspendus*. Wherefore being thus freightned and not knowing what to do, he sent to *Gaines*. But *Gaines* though he were sorry for what had happen'd, yet having not yet reveal'd his mind as to the Rebellion, he sent *Leo*, the next Commander to himself, to assist the *Pamphylians*, and to joyn with *Valentine* against *Tribigildus*, so as not to suffer him and his Men to cross the Rivers. Whereupon *Leo*, though he were a Man naturally of a low spirit, and devoted all his life-time to pleasure, yet he obey'd his Orders. And this made *Gaines* affraid, lest *Tribigildus*, being beset on every side,

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and not having strength enough to fight the Enemy, might be totally destroy'd. Wherefore he sent other Troops of *Barbarians* that he had with him, into the *Roman* Camp, not only by degrees to waste it, but to make way for *Tribigildus*'s escape. So the *Barbarians* whom *Gaines* gave to *Leo*, as Auxiliaries, fell upon all the *Romans* which they met with, spoiled the Country, and kill'd the Soldiers; nor did they cease to attaque all places, till they had cut off *Leo* with all his Army, and made almost the whole Country like a Desert: so that by this means *Gaines*'s design took effect. For *Tribigildus* being escap'd out of *Pamphylia*, laid greater afflictions than the former upon the Cities of *Phrygia*. From whence *Gaines* took occasion to extol his Atchievements very highly to the Emperour, and put the Senate together with the whole Court into such a fear of him, that he threaten'd and told 'em, he would come to the very *Hellebont*, and go near to turn all things topsy-turvy if the Emperour would not vouchsafe to take some care in satisfying his requests.

But *Gaines* did this out of policy, at once to conceal his inclinations from the Emperour, and by those respects which were shewn to *Tribigildus* to get an occasion

casion of putting his own project in execution. For it did not vex him so much that he himself was slighted, as that *Eutropius* was advanced to the highest pitch of Power, so as to be reckon'd among the Consuls, called by their Stile for a great while together, and honour'd with the dignity of a Patrician. For these were the things that most moved *Gaines* to Sedition: and therefore when he was ready for it, he first thought fit to contrive *Eutropius's* death. To which end whilst he was yet in *Phrygia*, he sent to the Emperour, and told him that he despair'd of any good success, since *Tribigildus* was so subtil a Warriour, and besides that, that it was impossible to sustain his fury or deliver *Asia* from the present extremities, unless the Emperour would be pleased to comply with his request, which was this: That *Eutropius* who was the greatest cause of all the mischief that had happen'd, might be delivered into his hands, to be disposed on as he thought fit.

Which when the Emperour *Arcadius* heard, he presently sent for *Eutropius*, degraded him from his Honours, and dismiss'd him. Whercupon he immediately ran into a Church of the Christians which by him was made a Sanctuary or Place of Refuge. But because *Gaines* was so urgent,

gent, and said that *Tribigildus* would never be quiet till *Eutropius* was removed, they took him by force (even against the Law for making Churches Sanctuaries,) and sent him into *Cyprus*, with a strict Guard upon him. But *Gaines* being still very instant and urging the Emperour *Arcadius* on still to take him off, the Emperour's Attendants made an equivocating evasion upon the Oath which was Sworn to *Eutropius* when he was dragg'd out of the Church, and caus'd him to be sent for back out of *Cyprus*; and then, as if they had onely sworn not to kill him as long as he was at *Constantinople*, they sent him to *Chacedon* and there murder'd him. Thus did Fortune deal very strangely with *Eutropius* on both hands, in raising him first to such an heighth as no Eunuch before had attain'd to, and then exposing him to death through the hatred which they who were Enemies to the Commonwealth profess'd against him.

But *Gaines* though he were now apparently inclined to innovation, yet thought himself undiscover'd: and therefore being absolute Master of *Tribigildus's* Soul, for that he was much above him in Power and Authority, he personated him and made a Peace with the Emperour; and after having mutually both taken and gi
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ven their Oaths, he return'd again through *Pbrygia* and *Lydia*. And that way *Tribigildus* follow'd him, marching through the upper *Lydia* in such a manner that he never set sight upon *Sardeis*, which is the Metropolis of *Lydia*. But when they were joyn'd into one body at *Thyatira*, *Tribigildus* repented that he had left *Sardeis* unsack'd, since it was so easy a matter to take a City, as that was, quite destitute of all defence. Wherefore he resolv'd to return thither along with *Gaines* and storm that City. And their design had certainly taken effect, if a great deal of Rain had not fallen which made a Flood upon the Land, and raised the Rivers so high that they were unpassable; whereby their journey was stopp'd. Whereupon they divided the Country between 'em, and led their Forces, *Gaines* toward *Bythinia*, and the other toward the *Hellespont*, permitting the *Barbarians* that follow'd 'em to plunder all before 'em. And by that time the one came to *Chalcedon*, the other had gotten possession of all the places near to *Lampsacus*; so that *Constantinople* and even the whole *Roman Empire* was in extream danger. And then did *Gaines* desire the Emperour would come to him, being resolv'd to parley with no body but him himself in Person. To which the Emperour submit-

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ted, and they met in a place near *Chalcedon*, where there is a Church dedicated to the holy Martyr *Euphemia*, who is honour'd for her devotion to Christ. And there it was agreed, that *Gaines* and *Tribigildus* should come over out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and that the most eminent Men in all the Commonwealth should be deliver'd into their hands to be put to death. Of which number were *Aurelianus*, who was that year Consul, and *Saturninus*, who had been a Consul, and *John*, whom the Emperour trusted with all his secrets, and who, many people said, was the Father of *Arcadius's* Son.

And this request did the Emperour grant though it was so tyrannical. But when *Gaines* had gotten these Men in his clutches, he laid his Sword no more than just upon the skin of their Bodies, and was content to let them suffer banishment onely. After which he cross'd over into *Thrace*, whither he commanded *Tribigildus* to follow him, leaving *Asia*, that was now beginning to breath again, and like to be deliver'd from all thosc dangers which beset it. But whilst he lived at *Constantinople*, he dispersed his Soldiers into several quarters; infomuch, that he bereft the City even of the very Court-Guards; giving the *Barbarians* certain pri-

vate Signals, with a charge, that when they saw the Soldiers were gone out of the City, they should immediately invade it, being now destitute of all defence, and deliver up the sole Power to him alone.

Having given these Orders to the *Barbarians* under his Command, he went out of the City, pretending that the fatigue of War had made him sick, and that he therefore wanted some refreshment, which he should never have, if he did not live some time without care. Wherefore he left the *Barbarians* in the City, who were a great many more in number than the Court-Guards, and retired to a *Villa* or Country-house, some forty furlongs from the City: whence he expected an opportunity of invading it, as soon as the *Barbarians* there should have made their attempt. And as *Gaines* was fill'd with these hopes; so had he not been carry'd away with the heat of a *Barbarian*, and anticipated the proper season for it, the *Barbarians* must of necessity have made themselves Masters of the City. But he not staying for the Signal drew his Soldiers to the Wall, and thereby made the Sentinels who were affrighted at the sight, give an Alarm. And thereupon immediately there was a general tumult, with lamentation of the Women, and such promiscuous

miscuous cryes, as if the City had been already taken; till at length they ran all together and fell upon the *Barbarians* that were in the City. And when they had kill'd 'em with Swords, Stones, and other Weapons whatever came to their hands, they ran up upon the Wall, and with the assistance of the Guards so pelted *Gaines's* Men, that they beat 'em off from coming into the City with every thing that fell in their way.

But when the City had thus escaped their danger, the *Barbarians* being enclosed by those within, and more than seven thousand got into a Church belonging to the Christians, that stands near the Palace, making that their Sanctuary to preserve 'em; the Emperour commanded 'em to be slain even in that place, nor would he let it be a sufficient refuge for 'em, whereby to avoid the just penalty which was due to their bold actions. But though the Emperour commanded it so to be, yet no Man durst lay hands upon them, to pull 'em out of the Sanctuaries, for fear lest they should attempt to defend themselves. They therefore thought it best to take off the roof of the Church over the *Altar* (as they call it) and that those who were appointed for the purpose, should throw down fire-brands up-

on 'em so long till they had burnt 'em every man to death. And by this means were the *Barbarians* destroy'd; which to some that were very zealous for Christianity seemed a most abominable crime to be committed in the midst of such a great City.

Now therefore when *Gaines* was disappointed in this his great Attempt, he openly made preparation for a War against the Commonwealth. But setting first upon the Countries in *Thrace*, he found their Cities well fenced with Walls, and guarded by the Magistrates and Inhabitants. For they having been used to Wars and taught by former incursions how to take care of themselves, were ready to fight with all their souls: wherefore *Gaines*, seeing nothing left without their Walls but Grass (for they had gathered up all kind of Fruits, Cattel and other provisions) he resolv'd to leave *Thrace* and make haste into *Cheroneus*, with an intention to return through the Streights of the *Hellespont* into *Asia*. But whilst he was deliberating upon these matters, the Emperour and Senate with one accord chose *Fraiutus* General for the War against *Gaines*; who though he were a *Barbarian* born, yet he was a *Grecian* in all other respects, and that not onely in his manner

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of living, but in his Mind and Religion. And therefore to him (who had been a famous Leader in many Wars and freed all the East from *Cilicia* to *Phenice* and *Palestine*; from the plague of Robbers) did they commit the conduct of their Army. Which when he had receiv'd, he opposed *Gaines*, not suffering the *Barbarians* to pass over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*. But whilst that *Gaines* was a preparing for their fight, *Fraiutus* could not endure his Men should be idle, and therefore kept 'em to continual exercise; by which he made 'em so fit for service, that, instead of their former sloth and laziness, they were discontented that *Gaines* delay'd the War so long.

Thus was *Fraiutus* employ'd in *Asia*, viewing not onely his own Camp both Night and Day, but observing also the motions of the Enemy: Besides which, he likewise took care of the shipping. For he had a Fleet enough to maintain a Sea-fight, of Ships call'd [*Liburnæ*] from a Town in *Italy* [*called Libarsia*] where that sort of Ships were first built. And these Ships seem'd to have been as swift-sailers as those with fifty Oars, though they were much inferiour to them of three Oars to each bank, and have not been built of a long time. Yet *Polybius* the

Historian seems to tell us the proportions of Six Oared Ships, which the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* seem to have used in their fights against one another. But in the mean time *Gaines* having forced his way through the *Long-Wall* into *Cherronesus*, had ranged his Men all along that rising shoar in *Thrace*, that reaches from over against *Parium* as far as *Lampsacus*, *Abydus*, and those places that make that streight Sea. Whilst, on the other hand, the *Roman* General sailed all about *Asia*, both Night and Day to pry into the Enemies designs. But *Gaines*, for want of necessary provisions, being troubled that the time was so protracted, cut down a quantity of Timber Trees out of a Wood in *Cherronesus*, which he fasten'd together very accurately, and making them fit to receive both Men and Horses, set his Men and their Horses upon them and so let 'em swim with the Stream, or Tide. For they could not be either managed with Oars, or any otherwise admit of the Pilot's Skill, being made so in haste without any Art at all, by the rude contrivance of *Barbarians*. But he himself staid upon the shoar, in hopes that he should quickly get the Victory, for that the *Romans* could not be any way strong enough to grapple with his Men in this engagement. Nor was the wise

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Roman General unaware of that truth; and therefore giving a guess what was to be done, commanded his Ships to put a little off from the Land: and seeing the *Tumultuary Vessels* of the *Barbarians* carry'd down with the stream wheresoever it drove them, he first attaqued one that came in the foremost range of Timber, and having a Ship with a brazen Stem, was much too strong for it; for he not onely bore hard upon it with his Ship, but so pelted the Men that were upon it with Darts that he sunk both that and them together. Which when the rest of his Ships Crews saw, and imitated, they kill'd some with Darts, whilst some fell off the Timbers and were drown'd, nor could any one of 'em hardly escape death. At which great Overthrow *Gaines* being much concern'd, and knowing not what to do, since he had lost so many of his Fellow-Soldiers, he removed a little out of *Cherronesus* into that part of *Thrace* that lies beyond it. But *Fraiutus* at that time did not think fit to follow *Gaines* in his flight, but muster'd up his Men in the same place, and was content with the Victory that Fortune had bestow'd upon him. And when almost all People accused *Fraiutus* for not pursuing *Gaines*, but sparing him, because *Gaines* and those that

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sled away with him, were *Fraiuus's Countrymen*, yet he, who was conscious of no such thing, return'd to the Emperour, very proud of his Victory, which he freely and boldly imputed to the favour of the Gods whom he worship'd. For he was not ashamed, even in the Emperour's presence, to profess, that he worship'd and honour'd the Gods after the ancient way of his *Fratelatus*, and could not follow the vulgar example in that case. So the Emperor receiv'd him very kindly and made him Consul. But *Gaines*, in the mean while, having lost most part of his Army, as I told you, ran away with the rest to the River *Ister*: where seeing *Thrace* laid waste by the former inroads into it, he plunder'd every thing that came to his hand, but fearing, lest another *Roman* Army should follow him and attaque his *Barbarians*, who were but few, and besides that, suspecting those *Romans* who went along with him, he kill'd 'em every Man, before they knew any thing of his intention, and afterward with his *Barbarians* crossed the *Ister* with a design to go into his own Country and there spend the rest of his days.

But whilst *Gaines* was doing this, one *Vldes*, who at that time was Prince of the *Hunns*, believing it unsafe for him to suffer

suffer a *Barbarian* with an Army of his own at his heels, to have any habitation beyond the *Ister*; and at the same time supposing that he should gratifie the Emperour if he expell'd him out of the Country, provided to fight him, and having muster'd up a considerable number of Men put 'em into Battalia against the Enemy. So likewise *Gaines* on the other side, seeing he could neither return to the *Romans*, nor otherwise escape the shock that *Vldes* had threatned, arm'd those Men whom he had with him, and met the *Hunns*. And after several Engagements between the two Armies, in some of which *Gaines's* party bore up very stoutly, at last, after many of his Men were slain, even *Gaines* himself also was kill'd, though he fought with great courage and bravery.

And now the War being ended by the death of *Gaines*, that *Vldes*, the Prince of the *Hunns* sent his Head to *Arcadius* the Emperour, and was rewarded for so doing: Whereupon he made a League with the *Romans*. But Affairs being carry'd without any conduct, because the Emperour had no Prudence at all, the Estate of *Thrace* was again disturbed. For there were a company of Fugitive Slaves, and others that had run away from their ranks, pretending themselves to be

be *Hunns*, pillaged all the Fields and took whatever they found without doors ; till such time as *Fraiutus* went against 'em and killing all he litt upon, put the Inhabitants out of fear. ----- Here is a *Chasme*, which 'tis in vain for any one to think of filling up, unless he gives himself the liberty of onely guessing at it. The sense therefore, such as may be deduced from the precedent passages, is this. *Gaines* formerly required that *Aurelianuſ*, *Saturninus*, and *Johannes* should be deliver'd into his hands, that he might punish 'em as he pleas'd; and therefore, 'tis probable, he committed 'em to Custody till he should think fit to inflict some punishment upon them. But when *Fraiutus* pursu'd the remaining part of *Gaines*'s Army, who was now kill'd, the Keepers gave their Prisoners free leave to escape, for fear lest they should fare but very hardly if they fell into *Fraiutus*'s hands. Hence does *Sylburgius* conjecture that [λιαν] i.e. in Latin Characters [liam] is the latter end of the word [Θεαυλιαν] [Theſſaliam] or Παραλιαν] [Paraliam] which signifies, near the Sea-Coast ; into which Country *Fraiutus* design'd to go over, to catch the Traitors and punish 'em according to their demerits, and then you must suppose that the next words relate

late to them when it is said --- fearing lest they should be but roughly dealt withal. But meeting with him they landed in *Epirus*, where consulting how to save themselves, (for they were in great danger upon the account of their extraordinary Offence) they gave their Prisoners an opportunity to escape : though others say, they gave Mony to be dismiss'd. But howsover they got away, they came back to *Constantinople* beyond all expectation, where they appear'd before the Emperour, the Senate and all other People.

Now from this time was the hatred which the Empereſſ had conceiv'd against *John* (who was a Christian Bishop) very much increased ; for though ſhe had been displeased at him formerly, for being ſome-what ſharpe upon her in his publick Homilies before the People, yet at this juncture, when he and the other two were come home again, ſhe broke out into an open abhorrence of him. Wherefore to ſatisfie her paſſion, ſhe did both what ſhe pleased, and what ſhe could to make the Bishops in all places conſent to *John*'s removal ; of whom the firſt and chiefest was *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who was the firſt that opposed the ancient holy Rites and Ceremonies. And though indeed there was a Debate proposed to be held

held about it, yet *John* seeing that things did not proceed with such equity as they ought to have done, went out of *Constantinople* of his own accord. At which the People being disturb'd (for he was excellent good at obliging the brutish common People) the City was in a Tumult, and the Christian Church was fill'd with them, that they call *Monks*. Now these are a sort of Men that abstain from lawful marriage, and furnish populous Colleges, in several Cities and Villages, with unmarried Men, who are not fit for War, nor any other service in the Commonwealth : save onely , that by going on in their way , from that time to this, they have gotten a great deal of Land into their possession , and under pretence of charity to the Poor, have made (I had almost said) all other Men, Beggars. And these Men having gotten into the Churches, hinder'd the People from coming to their usual Devotion. At which the People and the Soldiers too were so vex'd, that they desired to correct, and lop off (as it were) the luxuriant boldness of the Monks. And having the Signal given 'em for the same purpose, they march'd out boldly and without any tryal or examination put 'em all to the Sword, till they fill'd the Church with dead bodies, and pursuing those that ran

ran away wounded every Man that they met in black Clothes. Among whom many died by mistake, who either were in mourning, or upon any other occasion were in such a habit.

But by this time *John* being returned attempted the same things over again, and stirr'd up the like troubles in the City : where the number of Sycophants being now greater than ever they had been, and always attending upon the Court-Eunuchs, if any rich Man died, they brought an account of his Estate, as if he had had no Children or Relations. Whereupon the Emperour's Letters were issued out, to command that *John Doe* should have *Richard Roes* Estate. Nay , Mens Inheritances were disposed of to any that beg'd 'em, though the Children of the Party stood by lamenting and calling upon their Parents. In fine, there was nothing but fill'd the Cities and Towns with sorrow, and did the Inhabitants an unreasonable deal of injury. For the Emperour being a meer Fool, his Wife, who was arrogant above all the rest of Woman-kind, and devoted both to the insatiable avarice of Eunuchs and the Women who were about her, and ruled her most, made every body weary of their life ; insomuch that to modest People nothing was more eligible than Death.

And

And as if these things were not sufficient, there was misfortune that fell upon *Constantinople* much greater than can be express'd, in this manner. *John*, as I told you, coming home again after his banishment, and instigating the People against the Empress in his usual Homilies or Sermons, and seeing himself expell'd both from the Sea Episcopal as also from the City, took shipping and left the Town. But those that were of his Party, endeavouring to procure that no Man should be Bishop after, resolv'd to destroy the City by Fire. And to that end having privately set fire to a Church in the Night-time, and got them out of the City at break of Day (whereby they prevented the discovery of who they were) as soon as it was broad day they shew'd all the People in what extremity of danger the City was. For not onely that Church was burn'd to the ground, but the contiguous Houses also were consumed, especially those upon whom the violence of the Wind drove the fire. But besides them, the fire caught in the Senate-House, which stood before the Palace, and was a most beautiful, magnificent Structure. For it was adorn'd with the Statues of famous Artists, that look'd very gloriously, and with such colours in Marble, as are not now to be found

in any Mines. Nay, they say, that those Images, which were formerly consecrated in *Helicon* to the *Muses*, and in the time of *Constantine* were sufferers by that universal Sacriledg, being set up and dedicated in this place were burn'd at the same time, to signifie that disaffection which all Men should one day bear to the *Muses*.

But because there was a kind of Miracle wrought at that time, I think it worth the relating. This Temple of the Senate, for the sake of which I tell you this Story, had the Statues of *Jupiter* and *Minerva* before the doors of it, standing upon two stone Pedestals, as they do to this day. Now they say, that of *Jupiter* is *Jupiter Dodonæus*, and the other, of *Minerva*, the same which was formerly consecrated in *Lindus*. When therefore the fire had consumed all the Temple, the Lead upon the roof also being melted ran down upon the Statues, as likewise all the stones that could not resist the force of the fire fell upon them, till at last when the beauty of the building was all turn'd into one heap of rubbish, it was the common Opinion that these two Statues also were reduced to ashes. But when the place was cleansed and ready to be rebuilt, upon it shew'd the Statues

tues of those two Deities onely, which had escaped the universal ruine. Which Accident gave all those who were above the ordinary rank of Men some better hopes of the City, as if these Deities resolv'd to take continual care of it.

But let these things go as God will have 'em; [whilst I return thither from whence I digress'd.] Now all People being sorry for this calamity of the City, though they found no reason for it but *blind Chance* (as the saying is) the Emperour's Attendants were intent upon the rebuilding of the ruined Houses. But at the same time it was reported at Court, that a great number of *Isaurians*, who live above *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia* continually in the craggy inaccessible Mountains of *Taurus*, being divided into several Bands of Robbers, invaded the adjacent Champaign Country. And though they were not strong enough to attack the walled Towns, yet they over-ran all the unwalled Villages and plunder'd all before 'em. For the former ravage which was committed there by *Tribigildus* and his *Barbarians*, made their present incursions the more easy. But when this news was brought, *Arbazacius* was sent out as General, to assist the oppressed *Pamphylians*. Who having got a good competent Army along with

with him, and pursu'd the Robbers up into the Mountains, he took most of their Villages, and kill'd abundance of Men. And indeed he might easily have perfectly subdu'd 'em, and put the Towns in absolute security, had he not remitted great part of his vigour by giving himself up to luxury and filthy pleasures, or through his covetousness preferr'd Riches before the publick good. For which his treacherous behaviour being summon'd to appear before the Emperour, he expected to be try'd, but by giving part of that which he took from the *Isaurians* to the Emperess, he not onely escaped the Law, but spent the rest of his Money in such pleasures as that City afforded.

Thus did the *Isaurians* content themselves with private Robberies, and were not yet broken out into an open invasion upon the neighbouring Nations. But in the mean time *Alarichus*, being departed (as I told you before) out of *Peloponnesus*, and all that Country which the River *Achelous* passes through, he made an Halt in *Epirus*, where the *Molossians*, the *Thesprotians*, and other People live, as far as *Epidamnus* and the *Taulantians* Country, to wait till *Stilico* had brought about what they had agreed upon, which was this: *Stilico* seeing that *Arcadius*'s Ministers of

State were disaffected to him, intended, by the assistance of *Alarichus*, to add all the *Illyrian Countries* to the Empire of *Honorius*. And having made a compact with *Alarichus* to that purpose, he expected shortly to put his design in execution. But whilst *Alarichus* waited his Commands, one *Rhodogaisus* having muster'd up four hundred thousand of the *Celtick* and the *German* People that live beyond the *Ister*, and the *Rhine*, made preparations to pass over into *Italy*. Which News when it was first told put all People into a consternation; and yet though the several Towns were fallen into despair, and even *Rome* it self very apprehensive of its extream danger, *Stilico* took all the Forces with him which were at *Ticinum* in *Liguria* (which were some thirty Companies) with all the Auxiliaries that he could get of the *Alani* and the *Hunni*, and without staying for the Enemies coming, cross'd the *Ister* with his whole Army. By which means setting upon the *Barbarians* before they were aware, he utterly destroy'd their whole Forces, insomuch that none of 'em escaped except some few that he added to the *Roman* Auxiliaries. Now *Stilico* being, as you may guess, very proud of this Victory, he return'd with his Army and had Garlands given

given him by almost all People, as having so strangely deliver'd *Italy* from the dangers that she so much fear'd or expected. But at *Ravenna* (which is the Metropolis of *Flaminia* [*Romagnia*] an ancient City, and a Colony of the *Thessalians*, called *Rhene*, because the Water runs round it [as the word *Rhene imports*] and not as *Olympiodorus* of *Thebes* says, that it was so called from *Remas*, Brother to *Romulus*, who was the builder of it; for he must leave that to *Quadratus*, who hath mention'd this very matter in his History of the Emperour *Marcus*) at this same *Ravenna*, I say, *Stilico* being intent upon his preparations to attaque the *Illyrian Cities*, and by the help of *Alarichus* not onely to draw 'em off from *Arcadias*, but to joyn 'em to the Empire of *Honorius*, there happen'd two impediments to fall at once in his way: which were, a report that *Alarichus* was dead, and Letters of the Emperour *Honorius* from *Rome*, that gave him account how *Constantine* was turn'd Rebel and come out of the Island of *Britain* into the Countries beyond the *Alps* where he carry'd himself in their Cities like an Emperour. But the discourse concerning *Alarichus*'s death seemed to be doubtful, before certain Persons came and assured him how it really was.

But what was said of *Constantine's* setting up for the Empire was believ'd by all Men. By which means *Stilico* being hinder'd from his intended expedition against the *Illyrians* came to *Rome*, to consult with others concerning the present State of Affairs.

But after *Autumn*, when Winter was come on (*Bassus* and *Philippus* being chosen Consuls) the Emperour *Honorius*, who had long lost his Wife *Maria*, desired to have her Sister *Thermantia*. But *Stilico* seemed not to approve of that Proposal, though *Serena* promoted it, as having a mind it should be a Match, upon this score: When *Mary* was to be married to *Honorius*, her Mother seeing the Damsel too young for an Husband, and yet being unwilling to defer the Marriage, though she thought that, to let a Man lie with such a tender Creature, was to offer violence to Nature, she got a certain Woman who knew how to manage such Affairs, and, by her means contrived it so, that *Maria* should live with the Emperour, and be his Bedfellow, but that he neither should nor could do Family duty to her. But, in the mean time the Damsel died a pure Virgin, and so *Serena*, who, you may well imagine, was desirous to be Grandmother to a young Emperour or Empress, for fear

of

of having her great Power lessen'd, did what she could to marry her other Daughter to *Honorius*. Which being brought to pass, the Girl not long after died, in the same manner as the former did. And about the same time *Stilico* was informed, that *Alarichus* having left *Epirus*, and got through those Streights that obstruct the passage from *Pannonia* to *Venice*, had pitch'd his Camp at a Town called *Emo*, which lies between the upper *Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Now it is worth while to remark, what is observable concerning this same Town, and how it came first to be built. They say, that the *Argonauts* being pursued by *Hebas*, arrived at the mouth of the *Ister* where it disembogues it self into the *Pontus*, and thought it the best way for 'em to go up this River against the stream with the help of Oars, and a convenient gale of Wind together till they came nearer to the Sea. And when they had so done, and were arrived at this Place, they left a memorial of their coming to it, which was the building of this Town, and afterward putting their Ship, the *Argo*, upon Machines or Engines for the purpose, they drew it four hundred furlongs off, even to the Sea side and so arrived at the *Thessalian* shore, as *Pisander* the Poet says, who has comprehended almost the whole Story in

a Poem, called *The Heroick marriages of the Gods*. But *Alaricus* having march'd out of *Emo*, and, crossing the River *Aquilis*, got over the *Apennine Mountains*, came into *Noricum*. Now the *Apennine Mountains* lie just upon the borders of *Pannonia*, and make the way to *Noricum* very narrow; and therefore though the Pass be kept by a small Guard, a great number must labour hard to get through it. But notwithstanding the difficulty, *Alaricus* marched through into *Noricum* and from thence an Embassy to *Stilico*, to desire a supply of Money not only upon the account of his stay in *Epirus*, which he said was made by the persuasions of *Stilico*, but also to defray his Journey into *Noricum* and *Italy*. But *Stilico*, though he receiv'd the Embassy, left the Embassadors at *Ravenna* and went himself to *Rome*, with a design to consult the Emperour and the Senate in the Affair. But when the Senate met at the Imperial Palace, and proposed to debate whether they should proclaim a War or no, they were most of 'em for fighting. Onely *Stilico* and some few others, who comply'd with him out of pure fear, were of a contrary Opinion, and voted for a Peace with *Alaricus*. Now therefore when those that were for a War, desired to

to know of *Stilico*, why he was more for Peace than War; nay, to the dishonour of the *Roman Name* and glory, would meanly purchase it with Money. He reply'd; *Alaricus* has stay'd thus long in *Epirus*, that he may joyn with me in a War against the Emperour of the West, and drawing the *Illyrians* from under that Dominion, make them additional Subjects to *Honorius*. And this had been done before that time [he said] if the Emperour *Honorius*'s Letters had not come in the mean while and stop'd his Journey into the East, in expectation whereof *Alaricus* had spent so much time in that Country. And as *Stilico* said these words, he produced an Epistle from the Emperour, and said, *Serena* was the cause of all, as being minded to preserve an inviolable friendship between the two Emperours.

Since therefore they all thought *Stilico* spoke nothing but reason, the Senate was pleas'd to order that *Alaricus* should have three thousand pounds upon the account of a Peace, though most of 'em gave their Votes more out of fear to *Stilico* than their own judgment or inclination. For that was the reason that *Lampadius*, a Person of great Birth and Quality, having utter'd this Latin Sentence [*Non est ista Pax, sed Pactio Servitutis*] which in

English is thus [This is not the bond of Peace but of Slavery] was fain, as soon as the Senate was dismiss'd, to fly into a neighbouring Church belonging to the Christians, for fear of suffering for the freedom, that he took in so saying.

When therefore *Stilico* had made the Peace with *Alariclus* after this manner, he prepared himself very earnestly for his Journey, to put his designs in execution. But the Emperour said that he would go also from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, to view and congratulate the Army, especially since such and so great an Enemy was come into *Italy*: though he did not say so of his own inclination but was persuaded to it by *Serena*. For she had a mind to have him live in a securer City, so that if *Alariclus* should break the Peace and invade *Rome*, he might not take the Emperour too: but she was the more zealous to preserve him, since her own safety depended upon his. But *Stilico*, being much against the Emperours going to *Ravenna*, contrived many Obstacles to hinder it. To which seeing the Emperour for all that would not give way, but was still intent upon his Journey, one *Sarus*, a *Barbarian*, and Captain of a Company of *Barbarians* at *Ravenna*, made a mutiny before the City at the instigation of *Stilico*: not that

that he really design'd to put things into a confusion, but to frighten the Emperour out of his intention of coming to *Ravenna*. But seeing the Emperour persisted in his resolution, *Justinianus*, an excellent Lawyer at *Rome*, whom *Stilico* made his Assistant and Counsellor, through the sagacity of his judgment, seemed to give a shrew'd guess at what the Design was upon which the Emperour took that Journey; and that the Soldiers who were in *Ticinum*, and disaffected to *Stilico* (when the Emperour came thither) would reduce him into very dangerous circumstances. Wherefore he continually advised him to persuade the Emperour out of his present intentions. But when he saw the Emperour would not hearken to *Stilico's* Counsel, he went away from him, lest he through his familiarity with *Stilico* should have suffer'd under the same misfortune.

But before this time there had been a report at *Rome*. that the Emperour *Arcadius* was dead, which was confirm'd after the Emperour *Honorius* went for *Ravenna*: and therefore seeing *Stilico* was at *Ravenna*, whilst the Emperour was at a City in *Aemilia*, called *Bononia*, some seventy Miles (as they call 'em [in *Latin*, *Septuaginta Millarium spatio*] he sent for *Stilico*

Stilico to chastize the Soldiers who mutiny'd by the way among themselves. Whereupon when *Stilico* had gather'd the mutinous Soldiers together, and told 'em that the Emperour had not onely commanded him to correct 'em for it, but to make a Decumation or Tithing, among 'em, and punish all the most guilty with death [by picking out every tenth Man] he put 'em into such a fright, that they all burst out into tears, and desiring him to take pity on them, made him promise them the Emperour's Pardon. And when the Emperour had performed what he had promis'd they apply'd themselves to publick busines. For *Stilico* was desirous to go into the East, or manage Affairs for *Theodosius* (Son to *Arcadius*) who was very young and wanted a Governour. And *Honorius* himself also was a thinking to go the same Journey, with a design to secure that young Emperour's Dominions. But *Stilico*, being disgusted upon that account, and shewing him by computation what a vast Sum of Money it would cost him to defray such an expedition, deterr'd the Emperour from that enterprise. But he told him likewise that *Constantine's* Rebellion would not permit him to go so far off as not to take care of *Italy* and *Rome* it self, since that U-
surper

surper *Constantine* had over-ran all *Gallia* and lived then at *Orleance*. Nay more, that, though what he had said was enough to deserve the Emperour's care and Presence, *Alarichus* also was acoming with such a vast Army of *Barbarians*; who as he was a *Barbarian* and a faithless Fellow, so when he found *Italy* destitute of all assistance, would certainly invade it. Wherefore he thought it the best Counsel, and most conducing to publick good, for *Alarichus* to undertake the Expedition against that Rebel *Constantine*, along with part of his *Barbarians*, some *Roman Legions* and their Officers, who should be sharers with him in the War; and then, for *Stilico* himself to go into the East, if the Emperour commanded it, and would give him instructions what to do there.

The Emperour, who thought that *Stilico* said nothing but what was right, gave him Letters both to the Emperour of the East and to *Alarichus*, and so departed from *Bononia*. But *Stilico* stay'd there, and went neither into the East, nor did any thing else that was design'd. Nay he did not so much as send over any of those Soldiers, that were in *Ticinum*, to *Raven-na*, or any other place, lest they should meet the Emperour by the way and set him upon doing something to his prejudice.

But

But *Stilico* being in these circumstances, though he were conscious of no ill intention either against the Emperor or Soldiers, one *

* When *Stilico* did what he could to put the Court into Confusion, as *Sorenus* says, b. 9. c. 4. *Olympius*, discovering his design, acquainted *Honorius*, that *Stilico* endeavour'd to get the Empire into his own hands, and make his Son *Eucherius* his Partner in it, who was no doubt a Gentile and an Enemy to the Christians. And therefore we may the less admire why he is painted in such colours by *Zosimus*, with whom it is equivalent to all other Crimes, merely to be a Christian.

said many a stabbing word (to speak Poetically) against *Stilico*, and that he desired to go into the East for no other reason but to get an opportunity of removing young *Theodosius*, and putting the Empire into the hands of his own Son, *Eucherius*. And these things he told the Emperor as they travelled along, having a good occasion then to do it. But when the Emperor was at *Ticinum*, *Olympius*, using to visit the sick Soldiers (which was the very Masterpiece of all his hypocritical virtue) he dispersed such incantations [or false insinuating Stories] among them too. But when the Emperor had been four days

at

at *Ticinum*, all the Soldiers being call'd together into the Court, the Emperor appear'd before 'em,, and encouraged 'em to a War against the Rebel, *Constantine*. And seeing no body was moved at any thing concerning *Stilico*, *Olympius* was observed to nod toward the Soldiers, as if he would have put them in mind of what he had said to 'em in private. At which they were almost mad, and kill'd *Limenius*, who was Prefect of the Court in the Nations beyond the *Alps*, and with him one *Chariobaudes*, who was General of the Legions in those parts. For these two had by chance escaped the Tyrants hands and were come to the Emperor at *Ticinum*. But besides these two there were slain, *Vincentius* and *Salvius*, the one General of the Horse, and the other Commander of the Domestick Forces. But seeing the Tumult encreased, the Emperor retired into the Palace, and some of the Magistrates escaped, and then the Soldiers dispersing themselves about the City, kill'd as many of the Magistrates as they could , pulling them out of the Houses into which they had fled : and plunder'd all the Town : Insomuch that when the Disease was past all cure, the Emperor put on a short Coat, without either his long Robe or his Diadem;

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dem; and coming forth into the midst of the City, had very much ado to restrain and curb the fury of the People. For those Magistrates also, who were taken even after their flight, were cut off; as *Næmorius*, Master of the Court-bands, and *Petronius*, the Treasurer and Stewart of the Emperor's private Patrimony; besides *Salvius*, whose Office it was to declare what the Emperour thought fit to do [upon any occasion] and was called *Quæstor* ever since the time of *Constantine*. Nor could this Man escape Death, though he embraced and hugg'd the Emperour's feet. But the Tumult continuing till late at Night, and the Emperour fearing lest any thing should be committed against his own Person also, (for which reason he withdrew) they happening to find *Loagianianus*, who was Prefect of the Court in *Italy*, kill'd him. Now all these Magistrates were slain by the mad Soldiers: but there perish'd of promiscuous people also so great a number as cannot easily be computed.

When this news came to *Stilico*, who was then at *Bononia*, a City of *Æmilia* (as I told you) it troubled him extreamly. And therefore calling together all the Commanders of his Confederate *Barbarians* who were with him, he proposed a Consul-

Book V. of Count ZOSIMUS.

Consultation concerning what was most fit to be done. And there it was agreed by common consent, that if the Emperour were slain (which was yet doubtful) all the Confederate *Barbarians* at one time should joyn together and fall upon the *Roman* Soldiers, and by that means make all others more modest and civil. But if the Emperour appear'd to be safe, though the Magistrates were taken off, that then the Authors of the Tumult should be brought to condign punishment. And this was the result of that Consultation into which *Stilico* enter'd with his *Barbarians*. But when they knew that there was no indignity offer'd to the Emperour's Person, *Stilico* resolv'd to proceed no farther in punishing or correcting of the Soldiers, but to return to *Ravenna*. For he consider'd both the number of the Soldiers, and saw likewise that the Emperour was not stedfastly his Friend; nor did he think it either honest or safe to set *Barbarians* upon the *Roman Army*.

Now therefore *Stilico* being very anxious about these things, the *Barbarians* that were about him were very desirous to make their former resolutions valid, and therefore endeavour'd to persuade him from those things that he afterwards thought fit to be done. But being not able to persuade

persuade him, all the rest determined to stay in some place or other till they were better inform'd what the Emperour's Opinion was of *Stilico*; onely *Sarus*, who excell'd all the other Confederates in strength and dignity, together with those *Barbarians* that were under him, having kill'd all the *Huns* that were *Stilico's* Lifeguard (whilst they were asleep) and taken all his Carriages that follow'd him, went into his Tent, in which he stay'd to expect what would be the issue [of such actions.] Whereupon *Stilico* seeing his *Barbarians* fell out among one another, went away to *Ravenna*, and engaged the Cities, in which there were any Women or Children belonging to the *Barbarians*, to receive ne'r a Soul of the *Barbarians*, if they came to 'em [for shelter.] But in the mean time *Olympius* being now grown Master of the King's Will, sent the Imperial Letters to the Soldiers at *Ravenna*, to command 'em presently to apprehend *Stilico* and keep him in *Prison without Fetter*. Which when *Stilico* heard of, he got into a Church of the Christians which was near, whilst it was yet Night; and his *Barbarians*, as also his other familiars, who, with his Servants were all arm'd, seeing that, expected what would follow. And when it was Day, the Soldiers going

ing into the Church and swearing before the Bishop, that they were commanded by the Emperour not to kill him, but onely to keep him in custody. But when he was got out of the Church and in the Soldiers custody, there were other Letters deliver'd by him that brought the former, wherin the penalty of Death was inflicted upon *Stilico* for his offences against the Commonwealth; insomuch that whilst *Eucherius* his Son fled away at this juncture toward *Rome*, *Stilico* was led to execution. But when the *Barbarians* about him, with his Servants and other Friends or Relations (of whom there were a vast number) were prepared and resolv'd to rescue him from the blow, *Stilico* deterred 'em from the enterprise with all fearful menaces imaginable, and in a manner submitted his Neck to the Sword, being the most modest and justest Person of almost all those that were Men of great Authority in his time. For though he married *Theodosius* the elder Brother's Daughter [or *Theodosius* the elder's Neece by his Brother's side] and was entrusted with both the Empires of his two Sons, yea, had been a Commander twenty three years, yet he never appear'd to make military Officers for Money, or to convert the Soldiers allowance to his own use. And

being the Father of one Son onely he proposed a dignity, or preferment to him, which was to be Tribune of the *Notaries* (as they call that Officer) and limited him that he should never desire or seek aiter any other Power or Authority. Now therefore that studious Men or Astrologers may not be ignorant when he died, it was under the Consulship of *Bassus* and *Philippus*, in which also the Emperour *Arcadius* submitted to Fate, upon the 22d of *August*.

When *Stilico* was dead, all the Affairs of the Court were managed by *Olympius*, according to his own will and pleasure; and *Olympius* too had the Office of *Magister*, i.e. Master of the Court, whilst the Emperour distributed the rest to those whom *Olympius* thought fit to recommend. But in the mean while not onely all his Friends, but even all others that had any kindnes for *Stilico* were sought out; and of that number *Deuterius* who was Captain of the Guard of the Imperial Bed-Chamber was called in question, as also *Petrus*, Tribune of the Company of *Notaries*: and when they had been put to the publick Torture, to make 'em confess something concerning *Stilico*, yet, they having nothing to say either against him or themselves either, *Olympius* failed of his

his desire, but caused them to be drubb'd to Death with Cudgels. And though many others that were suspected to be *Stilico*'s Friends and conscious of his Designs, were call'd to question and put to the Torture, to make 'em confess whether they knew of his Ambition to be Emperour, yet seeing ne'r a man of 'em would say any such thing, the curious enquirers into such matters desisted from their enterprise. But in the mean time *Honorius* the Emperour commanded his Wife *Thermantia* to be taken from the Imperial Throne and restored to her Mother, who for all that was not at all suspicacious: and order'd *Eucherius*, *Stilico*'s Son, to be search'd for and put to death. Whom when they had found in a Church at *Rome*, into which he had fled, they let him alone out of respect to the place. Whilst at the same time and in the same City of *Rome* one *Helioocrates*, who was the Treasurer, produced the Emperour's Letter, commanding that all who had born any Office in the time of *Stilico*, should be confiscated, and thereby was totally employ'd in gathering Mony into the Treasury. But as if these things were not enough to satisfie that evil Genius that captivated mankind in Chains of Wickedness and confounded all things

by a neglect of holy Rites, there was an addition made to all their former misfortunes, which was thus:

The Soldiers that were in the City, when they heard of *Stilico's* death, tell upon all the Women and Children, that were in the City, belonging to the *Barbarians*: and having, as it were by a Signal, destroy'd 'em every Soul, they plunder'd 'em of all they had. Which when the Relations of those that were slain came to hear, they met together from all quarters; and being mightily incensed at the *Romans* for such an impious breach of their words which they had passed in the presence of the Gods, they all resolv'd to joyn themselves to *Alarichus*, and be his assistants in the War against *Rome*. Whereupon having muster'd up something more than thirty thousand Men, they Rendezvous'd where they pleased. But *Alarichus* was not sufficiently excited even by these Men to undertake a War, but still preferr'd Peace, rememb'reng the League which he made with *Stilico*. He therefore sent Embassadours and desired to purchase a Peace, though with a small sum of Money, as likewise to have *Aetius* and *Jascon*, the former, Son to *Jovius*, and the latter, to *Gaudentius*, for Hostages: and therewithal told 'em, that he would send them

them two under the like circumstances out of his Nobility, and having made peace upon such terms would lead his Army out of *Noricum* into *Pannonia*. But *Alarichus* demanding Peace upon these conditions, the Emperour refus'd him his Request, although he must have of necessity done one thing or other of two that were before him, if he would have disposed of his Affairs the right way. For he must either have deferr'd the War, and procured a Peace for some small sum, or if he would rather fight, he ought to have muster'd up all the Legions that he could, and posted them in the Enemies way to obstruct the *Barbarians* from coming any further on. Besides which, he should have chosen a fit Man to lead 'em and made *Sarus* General of the War, who in his own person was sufficient to strike a terror into the Enemies, upon the account both of his courage and his experience in Warlike Affairs, and had also a number of *Barbarians* under him enough to make a good defence. But he, on the contrary, neither embracing the offers of Peace, nor making *Sarus* his Friend, nor mustering up the *Roman* Army, but placing all his hopes in the desires and wishes of *Olympius*, was the cause of so many calamities

ties to the Commonwealth. For he made such Men Commanders as were contemptible in the esteem of the Enemy ; to wit, *Turpilio*, whom he made General of the Horse, *Varanes* of the Foot, *Vigilantius* of the Domesticks, and so of all other things accordingly. Upon which account all Men despai'd and seemed to have the utter ruin of *Italy* even then before their Eyes.

Now seeing these things were thus order'd, *Alarichus* began his expedition against *Rome*, and laugh'd at the preparations made by *Honorius*. And because he would not go about such a weighty business with onely equal but rather far greater Forces than his Enemy, he sent for his Wifes Brother, called *Araulphus*, our of the upper *Pannonia*, to be his Partner in the Action, as having a very considerable number of *Goths* and *Hunns* to bring along with him. Yet nevertheless he did not stay for his Brother-in law's coming, but marching forward in haste, passed by *Aquileia* and all the other Cities in order that lie beyond the River *Po*, I mean *Concordia*, *Altinum*, and *Cremona*. And when he had crois'd the River, being as it were at some Festival, and having no Enemy to stop him, he came into a certain

tain Castle of *Bononia*, which they call *Oecubaria*. From whence passing by all *Emilia*, and leaving *Ravenna* behind him he came to *Ariminum*, a great City of *Flaminia*. But moving by that also with speed, as he did by all the rest that were in that Province, he came into *Picenum*, which is a Nation lying in the extremity of the *Ionian Bay*. And from thence marching towards *Rome*, he sack'd all the Castles and Towns that were in his way; insomuch that if *Arsacius* and *Tarentius*, the two Eunuchs, had not made haste and so prevented the coming of the *Barbarians* into those parts as to bring *Eucherius*, *Stilico*'s Son, before that time to *Rome*, to die according to the Emperour's Order, and executed what the Emperour command-ed, the Youth had certainly fallen into the hands of *Alarichus* and been saved. But the Eunuchs having fulfilled what was enjoynd 'em upon that score, and deliver'd *Thermantia*, *Honorius*'s Wife, to her Mother, they took shipping and went over to the Emperour in *Gallia Celtica*, where he then lived, because they could not go unto him the same way they came. Now upon this account the Emperour thinking he should do good service to the Commonwealth, if he rewarded these two Eu-nuchs for their great exploits in resto-

ring *Thermantia* to her Mother, and killing *Eucherius*, he made *Tarentius* Imperial Chamberlain, and gave *Arsacius* the next Place under him. Then having taken off *Bathanarius*, who was Master of the Soldiers [*militum Magister*, General] in the greater *Libya*, and Husband to *Stilico's* Sister, he gave that Command to *Heraclianus* who was the Man that kill'd *Stilico*, and receiv'd his Honour as the reward of that Action.

But when *Alaricus* was near *Rome*, besieging those within, the Senate suspect-ed *Serena* for bringing the *Barbarians* against their City. And therefore both the whole Senate and *Placidia*, who was the Emperour's own Sister by the Mothers side thought fit that she should die for it, as being the cause of all the present mis-chief. For *Alaricus*, said they, when *Serena* is removed, will draw off from the City, because there will be no body left from whom he can hope to haye the City betray'd into his hands. But this suspi-cion was really false; for *Serena* never thought of any such thing. However she suffer'd justly for her impieties toward the Gods, as I am now agoing to tell you. When *Theodosius* the Elder, having defeated the Rebel *Eugenius*, came to *Rome*, and created in all people a Con-tempt

tempt or neglect of divine Worship, de-nying to defray the charge of holy things out of the publick Stock, the Priests of both Sexes were turn'd out and banish'd, and the Temples bereft of all their Sacri-fices. Whereupon *Serena*, scoffing at 'em, would needs see the Temple dedicated to the Mother of the Gods. In which when she saw certain [*Bracelets* and] attire a-bout the neck of *Rheas* Statue, suitable to the divine Worship which was paid to her, She took it off of the Statue and put it about her own Neck. And when a cer-tain old Maid, that was the onely person left of all the Vestal Virgins, upbraided her with such a wicked Action even to her Teeth, she not onely gave her very ill Language, but commanded her Attendants to carry or drive her away. But notwithstanding, the old Woman, as she was go-ing from the place, pray'd that whatso-ever was due ro such impiety, might fall upon *Serena*, her Husband and Children. But *Serena* took no notice of what she said, and went out of the Temple well pleas'd with the Attire that she had gotten; though afterward there often appear'd to her something not onely fanta-stick, in a Dream, but real, when she was awake, which did foretel her Death. But others too, besides her, saw the like things:

things: and so far did that just Vengeance, which uses to punish the wicked, discharge its duty, that though *Serena* knew what would happen, she took no care of her self, but submitted that Neck about which she had put the Goddesses Attire, even to * an Halter. It is likewise said, that *Stilico*, for another impiety not much unlike this of *Serena*, did not escape the secret hand of Vengeance.

For he also is said to have commanded the Doors of the *Capitol* at *Rome*, that were cover'd with a great quantity of Gold, to be uncased; and that those who were employ'd in that Affair, found upon some part of the Doors, this Inscription, [These things] are kept for a wretched Prince. And so it prov'd, even as the Inscription foretold, for he died most wretchedly and most miserably too.

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Yet

Yet notwithstanding *Serenas* death did not remove *Alarichus* from the Siege, but he block'd up the Gates all round, and having posses'd himself of the River *Tiber*, obstructed the supply of necessaries from the Port to the City. Which when the *Romans* saw, they resolv'd yet still to persevere, because they expected almost every day to have Auxiliaries sent 'em from *Ravenna*. But when they found no body came, and that they were disappointed of their hopes, they thought good to retrench the measure of the allowance of Corn [or other provisions] and to order that there should not be dress'd [or prepared for eating] above one half of what was formerly for each day; and afterward, when their scarcity increased upon them, a third part onely. And seeing there was no remedy for their Relief, but that all their Belly-timber [Succours of the Belly, τα τη̄ γασπὶ βονθεργα] was spent, a Plague, as was probable it would, succeeded their famine, and all places were full of dead bodies. And because the dead could not be buried without the City (for the Enemies kept all the Passes or Avenues) the City was their Sepulchre. So that it was like to be dispeopled upon another account, and, though there had been no want of Victuals, yet the very stench

stench arising from the dead bodies was enough to infect and corrupt their bodies. But *Læta*, Wife to *Gratian*, who had been sometime Emperour, and her Mother *Pissamena* supply'd a great many with necessary food for some time. For, since the Treasury allowed them the Provisions of an Imperial Table, through the generosity of *Theodosius* who gave 'em that priviledg, a great many receiv'd the kindness of those two Women, and from their House got that which fortified 'em against a Famine. But the malady was come to that extremity, as that they were in danger to eat one another, they try'd all ways which are abominable in the eyes of mankind, and then resolv'd to send an Embassy to the Enemy, and acquaint them, that they were ready to accept of any reasonable conditions of Peace, and at the same time more ready for War, since the *Roman* People had taken up Arms, and through their continual exercise in Military Affairs were grown very much inclinable to fight. Now *Basilus* being chosen their Ambassador, who was a *Spaniard*, and Governour of a Province, *Johannes* went out along with him (who was the chief of the Imperial Notaries, called *Tribunes*) because he was acquainted with *Alaricus*, and [might be] a means to reconcile

concile them. For the *Romans* did not certainly know, whether *Alaricus* himself were come thither or no, or whether it were he that besieged *Rome*. For they were cheated with a former Report that it was another Person who had been *Stilico's* Friend, and brought him to the City.

When therefore the Embassadors came to him, they were ashamed of that ignorance in which the *Romans* had been so long kept, but deliver'd the Senates Message. Which when *Alaricus* heard, and that the people having been used to Arms were ready for a War; *The thickest grass*, says he, *is more easily cut than the thinnest*: and having so said, he laugh'd at the Embassadors most excessively. But when they came to talk of Peace, he used such expressions as were beyond all barbarous Arrogance, or insolence. For he said, He would not relinquish the Siege upon any other Condition, than that he should have all the Gold and Silver in the City, together with all the Household goods in it, besides the *Barbarian Slaves*. Whereupon when one of the Embassadors said, If you take all these things, what will you leave for the Citizens? He reply'd, Their Souls. So when the Embassadors had received this Answer, they desired

sired time to communicate it to the Citizens and advise with them what was to be done. Which leave having obtain'd, they related all the Discourse that had pass'd in that Embassy. Whereupon the *Romans* being persuaded that it was really *Alarichus* who fought against 'em, and despairing of all things that conduce to humane strength, they call'd to mind that help which the City had formerly found in insurrections; and that they, by transgressing their ancient Ceremonies were left destitute of it.

But whilst they were considering of these things, *Pompeianus* the Prefect of the City, litt by chance upon some Men, that came out of *Tuscany* to *Rome*, and said, That a certain Town, called *Neveia*, had freed it self from imminent dangers, inasmuch as it had beaten off the *Barbarians*, who beset it, by Thunder and Lightning which was caus'd through their Devotion to the Gods in the ancient manner of Worship. And therefore when he had discoursed with these Men, he did what he well could do out of the Books belonging to the Chief *Priests* or *Pontifices*. But when he remember'd what Opinion was then prevalent, he resolv'd to go about his business with more security, and propos'd the whole matter to the Bishop
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of the City, whose Name was *Innocentius*. And he truly preferring the safety of the City before his own Opinion, permitted 'em privately to do whatever they knew how to do. But they pretending that what they could do would do no good unless the publick and usual Sacrifices were perform'd, the Senate went up into the *Capitol*, and there, as also in the several Markets of the City, did all that was to be perform'd; but no body daring to communicate in their Religious, ancient Worship, they dismiss'd those Men who came out of *Thuscany*, and apply'd themselves to reconcile the *Barbarian* as well as they could. To which end they again sent Embassadours; and after they had made long Speeches on both sides, they agreed that the City should give five thousand pound of Gold, and thirty thousand of Silver, with four thousand Silk Coats, three thousand Fleeces or Fells of a Scarlet die, and three thousand pounds of Pepper. But because the City had no publick Stock, there was a necessity for those Senators who had Estates, to undertake the collection of it by way of Assessment. Now *Palladius* being impower'd to rate every one according to his Estate, but not able to make up the whole sum out of all, either upon the account that some con-

concealed part of their goods, or because the City was otherwise impoverish'd through the continual covetousness and exactions of the Emperours Magistrates ; that wicked *Dæmon* or *Genius*, who at that time presidèd over mankind , and stirr'd up the Persons employ'd in this Affair to the highest pitch of all wickedness. For they resolv'd to supply what was wanting, out of the Attire that was about the Statues [of the Gods] : which was in effect no other, than to render those Images (that had been set up, and dedicated to holy Rites and Ceremonies, and were adorn'd with decent Attire, for that they had kept the City in perpetual happiness) when that ceremonious Worship should be in any degree diminished) inanimate and inefficacious. And because all things must then needs conspire to ruin the City, they not onely robb'd the Statues of their Ornaments , but also melted some of 'em down that were made of Gold and Silver : among which was that of *Fortitude*, or *Valour* , which the *Romans* call, *Virtus*. Which being destroy'd, all the *Roman* Valour and Courage that remained , was quite extinguish'd ; according to that which Men who were conversant about holy Rites and ancient Ceremonies from that time foretold.

Now

Now the Money being raised in this manner, they thought fit to send an Embassy to the Emperour, to confer with him about the ensuing Peace [and to inform him) that *Alarichus* did not require Money onely, but certain Noblemen's Sons likewise for Hostages : upon which Condition also he would not onely make a Peace, but enter into an Alliance with the Emperour and assist the *Romans* against all those who liad a mind to oppose 'em. Whereupon the Emperour resolving to conclude the Peace, the Money was paid to the *Barbarians*. Which being done, *Alarichus* gave the Citizens the Freedom of a Market for three days together, and leave to go securly out at certain Gates of the City, as also to bring up their Corn from the Port. By which means when the Citizens had taken breath again, by felling all the remaining part of their goods, or exchanging one thing for another , to buy them necessaries, the *Barbarians* departed from *Rome* , and pitch'd their Camp in certain places about *Tuscany*. And then almost all the Slaves that were in *Rome*, flying daily out of the City enrolled themselves among the *Barbarians*, to the number of forty thousand. But

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some of the *Barbarians* who were straggling up and down attaqued the *Romans* as they were going down to the Port, and bringing up their provisions. Which when *Alarichus* understood, he used his utmost endeavour to hinder such proceedings, as being done without his knowledg or consent. And now they seemed to have some small respite from their misfortunes. Whilst the Emperour *Honorius* at *Ravenna* was just entring upon the Consulship, having had that Honour eight times, and the Emperour *Theodosius*, in the East, three times. At which juncture the Rebel *Constantine* sent Eunuchs to *Honorius*, to beg his pardon for having receiv'd the Empire. For he did not take it of his own choice, but by compulsion from the Soldiers. Which Petition of his when the Emperour heard, and saw it was not easy for him, since *Alarichus* and his *Barbarians* were so near, to prepare for other Wars; besides the care that he took of his Kinsmen who were in the Rebels custody (as, *Verenianus* and *Didymius*, by name) he not onely granted their Request; but sent him also an Imperial Robe. But indeed his care for his Kinsmen was all in vain and frustrate, they being

being kill'd before this Embassy. When therefore he had so done, he sent the Eunuchs home.

But the Peace with *Alarichus* being not yet confirm'd, because the Emperour had neither given him the Hostages, nor fulfill'd all his desires, there were Embassadours sent from the Senate to *Ravenna*, [whose names were] *Cecilianus*, *Attalus*, and *Maximianus*. Who though they lamented the sad misfortunes that had befallen *Rome*, and tragically described the multitude of them that perish'd there; yet they gained nothing by it, by reason that *Olympius* confounded all Affairs and put a stop to those things that seemed to go in their due course. Upon which account the Emperour dismissing the Embassadours without their Errand for which they came, he turn'd out *Theodorus* from being Prefect of the City and gave the place to *Cecillianus*, commanding that *Attalus* should be Treasurer. But seeing *Olympius* made it his whole business to search in all places for those that were reported to know any thing of *Stilico's* Affairs, there were several Persons call'd in question upon that false Accusation, as *Marcellianus* and *Salonius*, two Brothers, C c 2 belonging

belonging to the Regiment of the Imperial Notaries. And these two did *Olympius* deliver to the Prefect of the Court; by whose Order though their bodies were beaten or drubb'd with all sorts of severities in that kind, yet they discover'd no tittle of what *Olympius* would fain have known.

Now the Affairs of *Rome* being in no better a condition than before, the Emperour thought fit to send for five Regiments of Soldiers out of *Dalmatia* from their own Quarters there, to guard the City of *Rome*. Which Regiments were made up of six thousand Men, who for carriage and strength were the chief of all the *Roman Army*: and their General's Name was *Valens*, a Person ready to attempt the greatest and most hazardous enterprise. He therefore would not seem so much a Coward as to go that way which the Enemy did not guard; so that *Alarichus* expecting till he came by and falling upon him with his whole Army, subdu'd all those that were with him, excepting only an hundred that with much ado escaped, together with their Commander. For he arrived safe at *Rome*, along with *Attalus*, who was sent by the Senate to the Emperour. But seeing

seeing more mischiefs were still added to the present ones, this *Attalus* when he came to *Rome*, turn'd *Heliocrates* out of his Office, which the Emperour had given him by the persuasions of *Olympius*. For *Heliocrates* was employ'd to search into the Estates of them that were banish'd upon the account of their Acquaintance or Relation to *Stilico*, and return 'em into the Treasury. But he being a moderate, good-natur'd Man, look'd upon it as an impiety to insult upon the unfortunate; and therefore did not make any strict enquiry into things, but on the contrary sent many of the Parties notice by a private Messenger to hide what they could, insomuch that being reckon'd a vile Fellow upon this score, he was brought to *Ravenna*, to suffer for his humanity toward those Men that were under such misfortunes. And he had certainly died for it, through the cruelty that then obtain'd, if he had not got into a Church belonging to the Christians. But *Maximilianus* who fell into the hands of the Enemy, was sold to his Father *Marinianus* for thirty thousand pieces of Gold. For since the Emperour deferr'd the Peace, and did not fulfill or perform

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what was agreed upon, the Romans could not any longer pass freely out of the City. Wherefore the Senate sent Embassadours a second time to the Emperour about the Peace, along with whom the Bishop of *Rome* also went. There were also some *Barbarians* in their Retinue, sent by *Alarichus*, to protect 'em from their Enemies who infested the several Roads.

But when these Embassadours were come to the Emperour, *Acaulphus*, whom *Alarichus* sent for (as I told you before) was come over the *Alps*, that lie as you go from *Pannonia* to *Venice*. Which when the Emperour heard, and that he had no great Army with him, he order'd all his Soldiers both Horse and Foot, as many as were in the several Cities, to go with their own Officers and meet him. But to *Olympius*, who was Captain of the Court-guards he gave the *Huns* that were in *Ravenna*, to the number of three hundred. Who when they saw those that came - - - - - [Here is a Chasm or Balk,] which may be supply'd with these words [were arrived] at a City after the word [came] and then it runs thus, Who wen they saw those that came, were arrived at a City called

Book V. of Count ZOSIMUS.

called *Pisa*, they made an attaque and engaging with 'em, kill'd eleven hundred *Gotths*, and return'd safe to *Ravenna* with the loss of onely seventeen Men.

But the Eunuchs about the Court made such informations to the Emperour against *Olympius*, as the cause of all the ill accidents that had befallen the Commonwealth, that they procur'd his removal out of his present Office. Whereupon he, fearing lest he might suffer some greater misfortune, fled away into *Dalmatia*; whilst in the mean time the Emperour sent *Attalus*, Prefect of the City, to *Rome*, and being very solicitous that nothing belonging to the Treasury should be conceal'd, he sent *Demetrius* also to assist *Attalus*, and make a diligent enquiry into the publick Stock. And when he had made many innovations as to the Magistracy and other matters also; turning out those that were formerly in great Authority and conferring their Offices upon others, he appointed *Generidus* likewise to be Commander of all the Forces in *Dalmatia*, who was already Captain General of all the rest that were posted or engarrison'd in the upper *Pannonia*, *Noricum* and *Rhaetia*, even as far as the *Alps*. Now this *Generidus*

dus though he were of a *Barbarian* extract, was, in his disposition inclined to all sorts of Virtues and the freest from covetousness of any Man living. But whilst he adhered to ancient Rites and could not endure to relinquish the old way of worshipping the Gods, there was a Law promulgated, that prohibited all who were not Christians from wearing a Girdle in the Court. Which Law being establish'd, *Generidus* who was a Military Officer at that time in *Rome*, laid down his Girdle and kept at home in his own House. And when the Emperour requir'd him as being enrolled among the Officers, to come to Court in his due course; He reply'd, There was a Law that forbad him the use of a Girdle, or that any one at all should be reckon'd among the Officers who did not reverence the Christian Religion. To which when the Emperour answer'd, That the Law [he cited] did indeed oblige all others, excepting him alone, who had undertaken such dangerous enterprises upon the score of the Commonwealth; He made him this return, That he could not suffer himself to accept of such an Honour that seemed to affront all the rest who upon the account of that

that Law had been put out of Commission. Nor did he execute his Office, till the Emperour being forced both by necessity and shame together, had utterly abolish'd the Law; and gave all people leave to enjoy their own Opinions in all Places or Offices whether they were Military or Civil.

Now *Generidus*, having begun with this piece of Gallantry, employ'd and instructed the Soldiers with continual labours and exercises; distributing Corn among 'em, and suffering no body to take any thing of it away from them, as they were formerly used to do; besides that he himself out of his publick Allowance, gave those that took most pains convenient encouragement. Since therefore he appear'd so great, he was not onely a Terroure to the adjacent *Barbarians*, but a security also to all those Nations which he had under his care. But when the Soldiers mutinied at *Ravenna*, they took possession of the Port there, crying out in a rude manner, and demanding that the Emperour would come before 'em. But he, for fear of the insurrection, being got into some private place, one *Jovius* came out among 'em, who was the Prefect of the Court and honour'd with the

the Dignity of a *Patrician*; and making as if he knew not the reason why they mutinied (although himself was said to be the cause of it, together with *Illebichus*, who was Captain of the Domestick Horse) He ask'd them what ground they had to be so violent ? But as soon as he heard the Soldiers say , that by all means they must have *Turpillo*, and *Vigilantius* the two Generals with *Terentius* the Imperial Chamberlain and *Arsacius*, next to him in Dignity, deliver'd to 'em ; the Emperour fearing lest the Soldiers should revolt, condemn'd the two Generals to perpetual Exile : and they thereupon being put on board a Ship were kill'd by those that should have carry'd 'em [to the place of Banishment .] For so indeed *Jovius* had commanded them to do ; as fearing lest if they ever came back again, and discover'd the intrigue that was laid against 'em, they might excite the Emperour to punish him for it. But *Terentius* was sent into the East, whilst *Arsacius* was order'd to live at *Millain*. And when the Emperour had made *Eusebius* Chamberlain in the room of *Terentius*, given *Kalens*, *Turpillo's* Command, and chosen *Ellebichus* Prefect instead of *Vigilantius*,

he

he seemed in some measure to asswage the fury of the Soldiers.

But *Jovius*, who was Prefect of the Court, having transferr'd all the Power of managing the Emperour into his own hands, resolv'd to send Embassadours to *Alarichus*, to desire him to come even to *Ravenna*, and [to tell him] that there they would conclude the Peace. Whereupon *Alarichus* being persuaded by the Letters that he receiv'd both from the Emperour and *Jovius* too, and being come as far as *Ariminum*, thirty miles from *Ravenna*, *Jovias* made haste thither also, as having been *Alarichus*'s Friend and familiar Acquaintance in *Epirus*, to treat concerning the League. Now *Alarichus* made these following Demands : That he would have so much Gold every year, and such a quantity of Corn ; as likewise that he and the *Barbarians* that were with him might inhabit both the *Venetias*, *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*. Which Demands of his when *Jovius* had written out in the presence of *Alarichus*, he sent 'em to the Emperour, with others Letters which he privately convey'd to him, to advise him that he would make *Alarichus* General of both his Armies ; for that he might thereby induce him to remit something of the severity in his Conditions,

and

and make a Peace upon pretty tolerable and moderate terms. But when the Emperour receiv'd that Epistle, he condemn'd *Jovius* for his forward rashness, and sent him a Letter, wherein he told him, It was fit that he indeed, as being Prefect of the Court, and understanding the strength of the publick Revenues, should assign the quantity of Corn and Gold, but that he would never confer any Dignity or Command either upon *Alarichus* or any of his Family.

Which Epistle as soon as *Jovius* receiv'd, he open'd and read it, not onely to himself but in *Alarichus*'s hearing: who though he bore all other things very patiently, yet when he saw the Generalship deny'd not onely to himself, but to all his Family also, he was so enraged, that immediately he commanded his *Barbarians* to march for *Rome* with all speed, to revenge the Affront, offer'd both to him and all his Family. But *Jovius* being put to a stand when he saw the Emperour's unexpected Letter, went back to *Ravenna*. And being desirous to acquit himself of all blame, he bound *Honorius* under several Oaths, never to make Peace with *Alarichus*, but to wage War against him con-

continually: as he himself likewise swore, by touching the Emperour's Head, and made all others, that were in any Office, do the same.

Affairs being thus concerted, the Emperour, who was to make War against *Alarichus*, call'd ten thousand *Huns* to his assistance. And being willing to have Provision ready for 'em against they came, he commanded the *Dalmatians* to bring in Corn, and Sheep and Oxen; sending his Scouts also to enquire, how *Alarichus* intended to march to *Rome*, and mustering up his Forces from all quarters. But *Alarichus* in the mean time repented of his intended Voyage to *Rome*, and sent the Bishops of each City, not onely by way of Embassadors, but also to advise the Emperour, not to suffer such a City as that, which had commanded a great part of the World, for above thousand years, to be deliver'd up, and destroy'd by the *Barbarians*. Nor such magnificeht Structures to be demolish'd by Hostile炎ies; but that he would rather make a Peace upon some reasonable Conditions. For the *Barbarian* [he would have 'em tell the Emperour] neither wanted preferment, nor would he desire those Provinces now, which for-

formerly he had a mind to dwell in, onely the two *Nerici*, that lie upon the extream parts of *Ister*, harass'd with continual incursions, and bring in but a small Revenue to the Treasury. Besides which he would have only so much Corn every year, as the Emperour should think fit, and would remit the Gold: so that there should be a Friendship and Alliance betwixt him and the *Romans* against every one that took up Arms, or rise in opposition to the Empire. Which when *Alarichus* had modestly and soberly proposed, (whilst all People admired his moderation) *Jovius* and those that were the Emperour's greatest Ministers, said his Demands could not be possibly granted, since all Men that were in any Commission had sworn not to make Peace with *Alarichus*. For if their Oath had been given to God, they might indeed have probably broke it, and oleft it to the Deities Goodness to pardon them, for their impiety, but since they had sworn by the Emperour's Head, it was by no means lawful for them to offend against so great a Vow: So cautious were they that then had the management of publick Affairs, as being bereft of Gods Care and Protection.

A New

A New HISTORY Written by Count ZOSIMUS, Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Sixth Book.



LARICHUS therefore being thus affronted for these his reasonable Demands, made haste towards *Rome* with all his Army, desirous to lay close Siege to that City. But at the same time there came one *Jovius*, a Man of great Learning and Virtue, from *Constantine*, who had usurp'd the Government of *Gallia Celsica*, to *Honorius* by way

way of an Embassadour, desiring that the former Peace, which they had agreed upon, might be confirm'd, and begging pardon for the killing of *Verenianus* and *Didymius*, who were kinsmen to the Emperour *Honorius*. For he made an Apology and said, that they were not taken off by *Constantine's* good will. But seeing *Honorius* much troubled, he said it was convenient for him, since he was so embarass'd with the Affairs of *Italy*, to make some small concessions: and that if he would suffer him to go back to *Constantine*, and tell him what circumstances *Italy* was then in, that he himself would shortly return thither with all the Forces in *Celtica*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, to relieve both *Italy* and *Rome*. Upon which Conditions *Jovius* was permitted to depart.

But since I have not given you a just Account concerning the state of *Celtica*, 'tis fit I should tell you particularly how things were carried there formerly. When *Arcadius* was Emperour (*Honorius* being the seventh time, and *Theodosius* the second time Consuls) the Soldiers in *Britain* made an insurrection, and promoted *Marcus* to the Imperial Throne, paying all obedience to him as their chief Lord in those parts. But some time after when they had kill'd him, for not complying with

with their humours, they set up *Gratian*, whom they presented with a Purple Robe and Diadem, and attended upon like an Emperour. But being disgusted at him likewise, they in four months after deposed and murder'd him, delivering the Empire up into the hands of *Constantine*. Who, having made *Justinianus* and *Nevigastes* Commanders of the *Celtick* Soldiery, left *Britain* and went over; but coming to *Bononia* (which is the nearest City to the Sea-side, lying in the lower *Germany*) and having stay'd there some days, he made all the Armies betwixt that and the *Alps*, which part *Gallia* and *Italy*, his Friends, so that he now seemed secure of the Empire. But at the same time *Stilico* sent *Sarus*, as General, with an Army against *Constantine*; who meeting the General *Justinianus* with all the Forces which he had, slew him and most of his Soldiers: and, having made himself Master of great Spoils, went to besiege *Valenia*, where he understood that *Constantine* had taken up his Quarters, as being a City well guarded and secure for him to reside at. Whilst *Nevigastes* the surviving Commander making some overtures of Peace to *Sarus*, he received him as his Friend; but *Sarus*, though he mutually both gave and took an

Oath to the contrary, immediatly kill'd him, without any regard to what he had sworn.

But when *Constantine* had made *Edobinchus*, a *Frank* by extract, but born in *Britain*, and *Gerontius*, a *Britain*, his Commanders [in the room of *Justinian* and *Nerigastes*] *Sarus*, who was affraid of these two upon the account of their Military experience and Courage, raised the Siege from before *Valentia* when he had lay'n there seven days. But *Constantine's* Officers attaqued him so briskly with their greatest vigour that he had much ado to escape alive, and was fain to give all his Spoils to the *Bacaudæ*, to let him pass into *Italy*. Now therefore when *Sarus* was thus got safe into *Italy*, *Constantine*, who had muster'd up all his Forces, resolv'd to set a sufficient guard upon the *Alps*, in three places, which obstruct the passage out of *Celtica* into *Italy* and so onward, commonly call'd the *Cottian*, the *Pænine*, and the *Maritime Alps*. And the reason why he took such care was this :

Some years before, when *Arcadius* was in his sixth Consulate and *Probus* was his Colleague, the *Vandals* mixing with the *Alanes* and *Suevians* came over these places, and plunder'd the Countries beyond the *Alps*. Where when they had made a great slaughter, they became so formidable

*Bacaudæ, et
Robbers, et
menini.*

dable even to the Armies in *Britain* also, that they forced 'em (for fear lest they might proceed as far as their Country) to choose several *Usurpers*, as *Marcus*, *Gratianus*, and after them *Constantinus* : Against whom there was a sharp engagement ; but the *Romans* overcame, and kill'd most part of the *Barbarians* : and yet, because they did not pursue those that ran away (or otherwise they might certainly have kill'd 'em every Man) they gave 'em time to recruit, and by mustering up a great number of *Barbarians*, to put themselves once more into a fighting posture. Now upon this account did *Constantine* set Guards upon these places, that those People might not have so free a passage into *Gallia*. He likewise secured the *Rhine*, which had been neglected since the Emperour *Julian's* time. And having thus ordered Affairs throughout all *Gallia*, he put his eldest Son *Constans* into the Habit of a *Cæsar* and sent him into *Spain*. For he had a mind to be absolute Lord of all the Countries there, not onely out of a desire to enlarge his own Dominions, but to retrench the Power of *Honorius's* Kinsmen. For he was afraid, lest when they had gathered together an Army of the Soldiers that were in those parts, they might, one time or other

other, cross over the *Pyrenian Mountains* and set upon him, whilst *Honorius*, [probably] might send an Army out of *Italy* and by environing of him on every side, depose him from his [usurped] Throne. So *Constans* went over into *Spain*, having *Terentius* for his General, and *Apollinarius* Prefect of his Court. And when he had appointed all the Officers about his Court both Military and Civil; He sent his Army under their Conduct against those who were akin to the Emperour *Theodosius* and disturb'd all *Spain* at that time. Who when they had made the first Onset against *Constans* with their *Lusitanian* [or *Portuguese*] Soldiers and found themselves overpow'r'd, they muster'd up a vast company of Slaves and Countrey Fellows, by whose assistance they had like to have reduced him into most dangerous circumstances; but even in this case too they failed of their expectation, whilst they and their Wives were taken Prisoners by *Constans*. Which accident being told to their Brothers, *Theodosius* and *Lagodius*, the one of 'em ran into *Italy*, and the other escaped safe into the East. Now when *Constans* had done these exploits in *Spain*, he return'd to his Father *Constantine*, carrying *Verenianus* and *Didymius* along with him, but leaving his General, *Gerontius*,

Gerontius, there, with the *Gallick* Soldiers, to guard the Pass from *Celtica* into *Spain*: although the *Spanish* Soldiers did desire that they might be trusted with that Affair, as they had been formerly, and that the safety of their Countrey might not be committed to the care of Strangers. So *Verenianus* and *Didymius* being brought to *Constantine*, were immediately put to Death.

But after that, *Constans* was a second time sent into *Spain*, and had *Justus* for his General. At which *Gerontius* being disgusted, and having obliged the Soldiers in those parts, he incited the *Barbarians* that were in *Gallia Celtica* to rise in opposition against *Constantine*. Whom seeing *Constantine* was not able to withstand, for that the greater part of his Army was in *Spain*, the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine* did so licentiously over run all places, and reduced not onely the *Britains* but some of the *Celtick* Nations also to such necessity, that they revolted from the Empire, and lived no longer under the *Roman* Laws but as they pleas'd themselves. The *Britains* therefore took up Arms and ventur'd upon any dangerous enterprise upon the account of their own safety, till they had freed their Cities from the *Barbarians* that besieged

'em. In like manner did all the *Armoricane* Countrey [*Brittaine* in *France*] with the other Provinces in *Gallia*, who, in imitation of *Britain*, deliver'd themselves the same way; by turning out the *Roman* Magistrates or Officers, and setting up a Government, such as they pleas'd, of their own.

This Revolt or Defection therefore of *Britain* and the *Celtick* Nations, happen'd when *Constantine* usurp'd the Empire, by whole neglect of Government the *Barbarians* were emboldened to commit such Ravage. But in the mean time *Alarichus* in *Italy*, seeing he could not gain a Peace upon the Conditions that he proposed, nor had receiv'd any Hostages, invaded *Rome* once more, and threaten'd to storm it, if the Citizens would not take his part and go along with him against the Emperour *Honorius*. To which proposal they so long deferr'd their Answer, that he besieged the City; and marching to the Port, though he was some days before he could take it, yet at last he made himself Master of it. And finding that all the City Stores lay there, he threaten'd to distribute them among his own Men, unless the *Romans* would forthwith consent to his Proposals. Wherefore the whole Senate

nate met, and having consulted what they should do, comply'd with all that *Alarichus* commanded of 'em. For there was no avoiding Death, since no relief of Provisions was brought in from the Port to the City. Accordingly they receiv'd *Alarichus's* Embassy, invited him to their City, and, as they were commanded, set *Attalus*, Prefect of the City, upon an Imperial Throne, with a Purple Robe and Crown: who presently declared *Lampadius* Prefect of the Court, and *Marcianus*, of the City, but gave the Generalships to *Alarichus* and *Valens* (who formerly commanded the *Dalmatian* Legions) distributing the other Offices to others in order. Then with an Imperial Guard about him he went toward the Court, though many ill Omens attended him by the way. The next day going into the Senate he made a Speech, full of Arrogance; wherein he told 'em with great Ostentation that he would subdue the whole World to the *Romans*, and do things greater than that too. For which perhaps the Gods were angry and design'd soon after to remove him.

But the *Romans* therefore were overjoy'd, having not onely gotten other Magistrates that knew how to manage things very well, but *Tertullus* also, at whose

promotion to the Consulship they were exceedingly pleas'd. Nor was any body troubled at these things that all Men thought conduced to publick good, but onely the Family of the *Anicii*; because they alone having almost all the Money in the City, were sorry to see things go so well. But when *Alarichus* wisely advised *Attalus* to send a convenient Army into *Africa* and to *Carthage*, thereby to depose *Heraclianu*s from his Dignity, lest he, who was *Honorius*'s Friend, should obstruct their Designs, *Attalus* would not hearken to his Admonitions, but being possess'd with those hopes which the Soothsayers gave him, and persuaded that he should conquer all *Africa* and *Carthage* too without fighting, he would not send forth *Drumas*, who with those *Barbarians* that he had with him, might easily have turn'd *Heraclianu*s out of his Office; but neglecting *Alarichus*'s Advice, gave the Command of all the Soldiers in *Africa* to one *Constantine*, yet sent no good fighting Men along with him. But in the mean time, whilst the Affairs of *Africa* were at an uncertainty, he undertook an expedition against the Emperour, who was at *Ravenna*. Whereupon the Emperour was so troubled and frighted, that he sent out Embassadours to

to desire that the Empire might be divided between them. But *Fovius* whom *Attalus* had made Prefect of the Court, said that *Attalus* should not leave *Honorius* so much as the Title of an Emperour, no not a whole body: for that he would send him to live in an Island, and maim him in some part of his body. At which haughty expressions all Men were affrighted, and *Honorius* was just ready to take his flight; but when, for that purpose, he had gotten together a vast number of Ships into the Port at *Ravenna*, six Regiments of Auxiliary Soldiers arrived there, which were expected whilst *Stilico* was alive, but came not out of the East till that time; being in number six thousand. At whose arrival *Honorius* being awaked (as it were) out of a dead sleep, he entrusted the keeping of the Walls to them that came out of the East, and resolv'd to stay at *Ravenna*, till he had better intelligence concerning the Affairs of *Africa*. And if *Heraclianu*s got the upper-hand, that then, when things were setled and secure in those parts, he would make War with his whole Army against *Alarichus* and *Attalus*: but if, on the contrary, those that he sent into *Africa*, were worsted, that then he would sail away into the East

East to *Theodosius* with those Ships which he had in readiness and relinquish the Western Empire.

And thus it was with *Honorius*. But *Jovius*, who was sent Embassador to *Honorius* (as I told you before) began to think of treasonable Designs, being corrupted by *Honorius* through other Men. He therefore told the Senate that he would be no longer an Embassador, and withal spoke some unhandsom words before them, as, that they ought, since those whom they had sent into *Africa* had failed of good success, to send *Barbarians* into the War against *Heracianus*. For since that *Constantine* was slain, their hopes, from that part of the World, were in a wavering condition. But *Attalus* being enraged, and having employ'd others to give Orders what he would have done, there were others sent with Money into *Africa*, to assist in the present juncture there. Which when *Alarichus* understood he was displeased at it, and began to despair of *Attalus*'s concerns, who went about things so rashly as if he were a Fool, without either reason or prospect of advantage. And therefore when he had consider'd of these things, he resolv'd to draw off from *Ravenna*, although he [formerly] determin'd to prosecute the Siege, till he took

took it. For *Jovius* had persuaded him so to do; who when he heard that the General sent by *Attalus* into *Africa* had utterly miss'd of his aim, he apply'd himself wholly to the Affairs of *Honorius*, and was always speaking ill of *Attalus* to *Alarichus*, out of a Design that he had to make him believe, that as soon as *Attalus* had secur'd the Empire into his own hands, he would first contrive the death of *Alarichus* and all that were akin to him. But whilst *Alarichus* continu'd constant to the Oath which he had given to *Attalus*, *Valens*, General of the Horse or Cavalry, was taken off upon suspicion of Treason: and *Alarichus* in the mean time went with his Army to all the Cities of *Æmilia*, that had deny'd very easily to receive *Attalus* as their Governor. And some of them he quickly reduced; but having besieged *Bononia* which held out many days, without being able to take it, he went toward *Liguria*, to force that Country also into an acknowledgment of *Attalus* for their Emperour.

But *Honorius* having sent Letters to the Cities in *Britain*, by way of advice for them to look to themselves, and rewarded the Soldiers with the Money sent from *Heracianus*, he lived at all ease ima-

imaginable, since he had contracted the love of the Soldiers in all places. And *Heraclianus* having seized and guarded all the Ports in *Africa* with all security, so that neither Corn, nor Oil, nor any other provision could be carry'd into the Port of *Rome*, there fell a Famine upon the City, more grievous than the former; and the *Market-men* [or those that sold things in the Market] concealed all their goods, out of hopes to get all the Money to themselves, by setting what price they pleased upon their Commodities. By which means the City was reduced to such extremities, that those who hoped that Man's flesh would be eaten, cry'd out in the *Hippodrome*, or place for Horse-Races, *Lay a certain Rate upon Man's flesh.*

Upon which occasion *Attalus* went to *Rome*, and call'd the Senate together, who, after some Debate, were, most of 'em of Opinion, that the *Barbarians* and the *Roman* Soldiers, ought to be sent into *Africa* and that *Drumas* should be their General, as being a Person that had given great testimonies of his fidelity and good will already. Onely *Attalus* and a few more did not agree in judgment with the majority of the House, nor was he willing to send out any *Barbarian* as General of a *Roman* Army. Now this was the first time that

Alar-

*Iegriffen,
Erfüllers.*

Alarichus had an Eye upon *Attalus* to take him off or depose him, though *Jovius* had formerly by continual Calumnies and false Accusations instigated him thereunto. Wherefore to put his Design in execution, he brought *Attalus* out before the City *Ariminum*, where he then lived, and taking off his Diadem, and stripping him of his Purple Rope, he sent 'em to the Emperour *Honorius*. But though he reduced *Attalus* to the condition of a private Person before all the People, yet he kept him and his Son *Ampelius* at his own House, till he had made Peace with *Honorius*; and then he procur'd their Pardon. *Flacida* also, the Emperour's Sister was with *Alarichus*, in the nature of an Hostage, but had all the Honour and Attendance belonging to the Quality of a Princess.

And this was the State of *Italy*, whilst *Constantine* gave his Son *Ceystans* a Diadem, and from a *Cxsar* made him Emperour; after he had depriv'd *Apollinariss* of his Office, and made another Person Perfect of the Court in his room. In the mean time *Alarichus* went to *Ravenna*, to confirm the Peace with *Honorius*, but Fortune found out another Obstacle beyond all expectation, and pointed out, as it were, what should befall the Commonwealth. For whilst that *Sarax* lay with a few *Barbarians*

A Supplement.

barians in *Picenum*, and joyn'd neither with the Emperour, nor *Alarichus* neither, *A-taulphus* who had a grudg against him, upon the score of some former difference, came with his whole Army to that place where *Sarus* chanced to be. But as soon as *Sarus* saw him coming, he, finding himself not able to fight him (as having only three hundred Men) resolved to fly to *Honorius* and be his Ally in the War against *Alarichus*. -----

A Supplement of those things, that are wanting in Zosimus:

Something is wanting, but *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca* says, That the History of *Zosimus* ended with the taking of *Rome* by *Alarichus*. Now seeing *Zosimus* is deficient in this Point, and that no particular History of things relating to the Sacking of *Rome*, is any where else to be found, I thought fit to give you the following Account out of *Baptista Egnatius*.

Alarichus had besieged *Rome* for two years together, nor had *Honorius*, who then lay idle at *Ravenna*, either Courage or Power to relieve it. For being concerned for nothing less than for the safety of the City; now *Stilico* was dead, he had constituted no General

A Supplement.

General over the Army, to manage the War against the *Gotths*. And that put the *Gotths* upon besieging the City, seeing the *Roman* Soldiers were either run away or very slothful in their business. But the *Barbarian* Enemy having in vain besieged it, nor being able to take it by Storm, was fain to make use of Stratagems and Policy. They pretended a Journey into their own Country, and therefore chose out three hundred young Fellows of great strength and courage, whom they would bestow upon the *Roman* Nobility as a Present, but instructed 'em beforehand to oblige their Masters with all observance imaginable, and that upon a certain day prefix'd, about Noon, when the Nobility were either asleep or otherwise unmindful of business, they should meet of a sudden at the Gate called *Porta Avinaria*, where having surpriz'd and kill'd the Guards, they should open the Gate for them who would be there at hand. In the mean time the *Gotths* delay'd the time of returning home, upon a pretence that they wanted one thing one or another still, till the three hundred Youths making good use of their opportunity, upon the day appointed, open'd the Gate to their Countrymen; and the *Gotths* when they were let in fell a plundering all the City, though they did more dif-

A Supplement.

dishonour than damage to the Citizens. Now there are some who think, the Gate was open'd by the contrivance of *Proba* a Woman of Quality and great Wealth, who pitied the *Roman* People that died of the Famine and several Distempers, like rotten Sheep. But two things upon this occasion, are worth our Observation: the one, That there was an Edict made by *Alarichus*, that whosoever fled into the Churches of the Saints, especially of *Peter* and *Paul*, should have no violence offer'd to 'em; which was accordingly observ'd with great care. The other was, That when the news was brought to *Honorius* at *Ravenna* that [*Roma*, i.e. *Rome*] was destroy'd; He thought they had meant a certain stout *Gaul*, whose name was *Roma*, and admired very much that he should be so soon gone, with whom he had a little before so merrily diverted himself.

THE END.